RENE GIRARD ON DOSTOEVSKY

the weekly Standard

MAY 20, 2002

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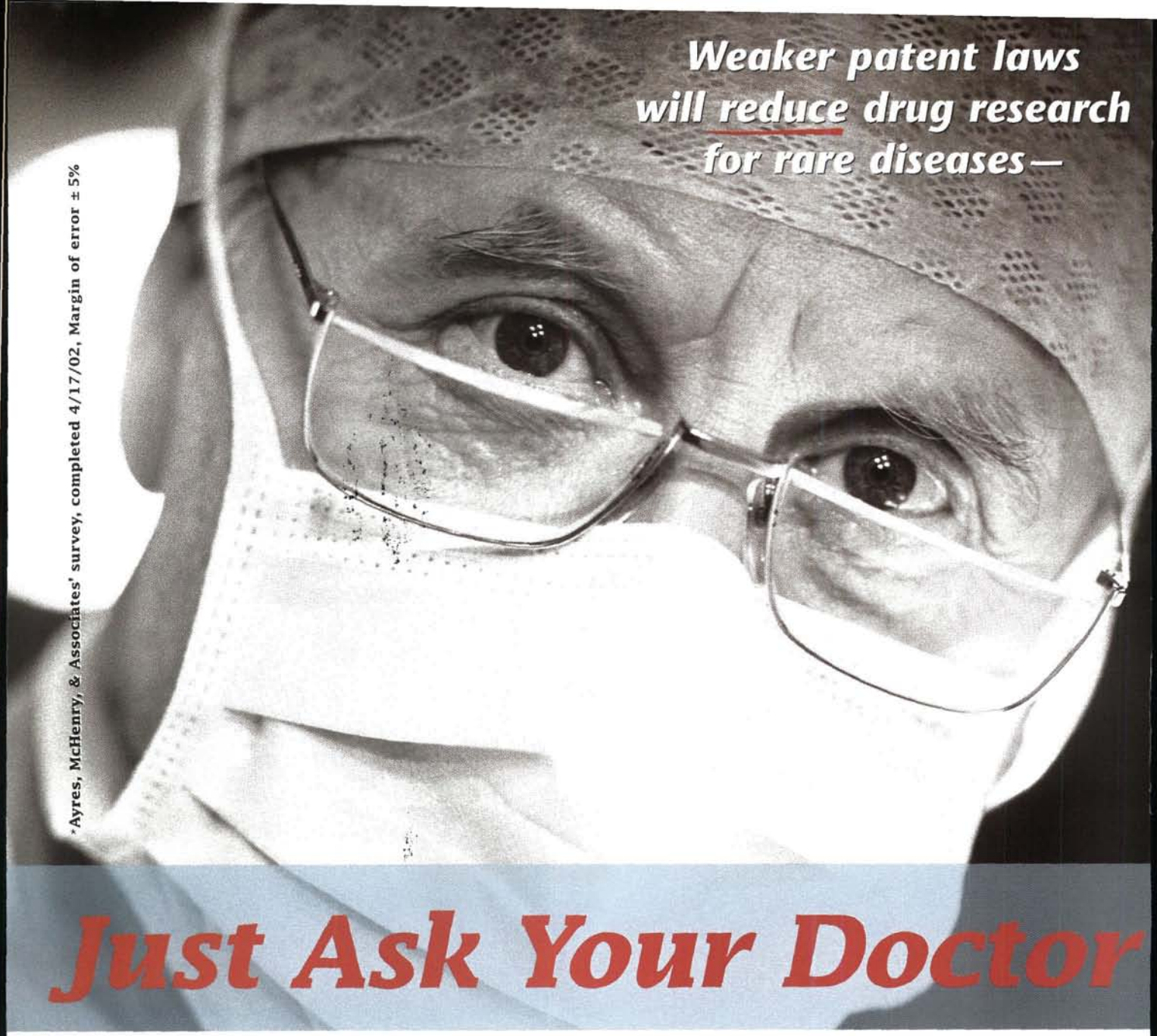

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67% of American MDs fear weaker patent laws mean less drug research for rare diseases.

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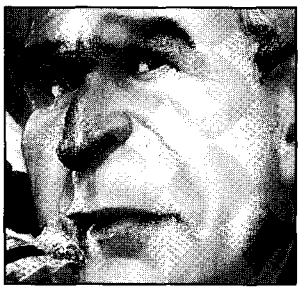

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the weekly Standard

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The Jeffords Auction

Last week, the *Washington Times*'s John McCaslin brought us the heartwarming tale of John McClaughry, president of the free-market Ethan Allen Institute in Concord, Vermont. Vermont, you'll recall, is the land of civil unionists, Chubby Hubby ice-cream manufacturers, and Republican turncoat Jim Jeffords, who handed control of the Senate to Tom Daschle and his fellow Democrats a year ago.

According to the *Times*, McClaughry, one of the few Vermonters who doesn't believe that Jeffords's drama-queen defection was as heroic an act as Paul Revere's midnight ride, was horrified when a relative "maliciously" presented him with an autographed copy of Jeffords's slim autobiography, *My Declaration of Independence*.

McClaughry told McCaslin that he immediately put it up for sale on eBay, stating in the product description, "I want to get it out of the house before anybody sees it and thinks I actually spent money on it." Additionally, McClaughry included a copy of one of his own *Wall Street Journal* commentaries "explaining how Jeffords betrayed his party repeatedly over 30 years and why the Republican party is better off with him gone."

Though the publisher's price was $14.95, McClaughry asked for a minimum bid of $5. After an entire week, the winning bidder (there was only one—for $5) turned out to be a Centreville, Virginia, man by the name of Ralph D. Jeffords.

As one of the few who has actually read Jeffords's book, THE SCRAPBOOK's first reaction was that Ralph had overpaid by about $5. Our second reaction was that we smelled a rat—could Ralph Jeffords be a relative of Jim's, trying to spare his kin the kind of embarrassment the latter suffered when the nation learned his nickname was "Jeezum"?

After reaching Ralph, a computer scientist with the Naval Research Lab, we learned that he has no idea if he's related to the senator. Ralph, it turns out, has been trying to find a family link by combing through Mormon genealogies. "I assume if I go back far enough," he says, "there will be a connection one way or another." (Dare to dream!) Consequently, Ralph likes to collect all things Jeffords (he's also a big aficionado of Tom Jeffords—the Indian scout who was one of the dearest friends of Cochise, the Apache chief).

Ralph says he hasn't read the book yet: "I'll probably look at it eventually." But in the meantime, he keeps an eye on eBay for Jeffords memorabilia steals. There's been quite a few of them, everything from commemorative Jeezum Jim beer bottles and glass sets to "Benedict Jeffords" pins. For his critics at least, it's nice to see something of Jeffords's for sale—besides his vote. ♦

Massacre? What massacre?

THE SCRAPBOOK became rather suspicious when it heard Hasan Abdel Rahman, the chief Palestinian representative to the United States, tell Fox's *Hannity & Colmes* last week that, with regard to the fighting in Jenin, "I never said it was a massacre."

As everyone by now probably knows, the initial Palestinian claims of thousands of innocents missing and killed at Israeli hands turned out to be 56 Palestinian deaths, mainly combatants, and 23 Israeli soldiers. And we had the distinct feeling that Rahman's earlier demands for Ariel Sharon to be tried for war crimes and broad condemnations of Israel just had to have included the word "massacre."

To be fair, Rahman did tell the media that he would not "get involved in semantics, whether that is a massacre or not because I don't know what makes a massacre." Too bad he didn't heed his own advice on April 14, when he did in fact tell CNN that "I still believe that there is—was—a massacre committed by Israel in Jenin and in other areas, and that those practices of Israel are continuing."

To paraphrase the old saying: Better to keep your mouth shut and have people suspect you of lying than open it and remove all doubt. ♦

The Poetry of Terror

Imagine a college course description including this warning: "Conservative thinkers are encouraged to seek other sections." Okay, stop imagining. According to a report in the *Daily Californian*, that language comes directly from a course-catalogue description of "The Politics and Poetics of the Palestinian Resistance," brought to you by the English department at UC Berkeley next fall.

The course, taught by grad student and campus radical Snehal Shingavi, "takes as its starting point the right of Palestinians to fight for their own self-determination. . . . The brutal Israeli military occupation of Palestine, an occupation that has been ongoing since 1948, has systematically displaced, killed and maimed millions of Palestinian people. And yet from under the brutal weight of the occupation, Palestinians have produced their

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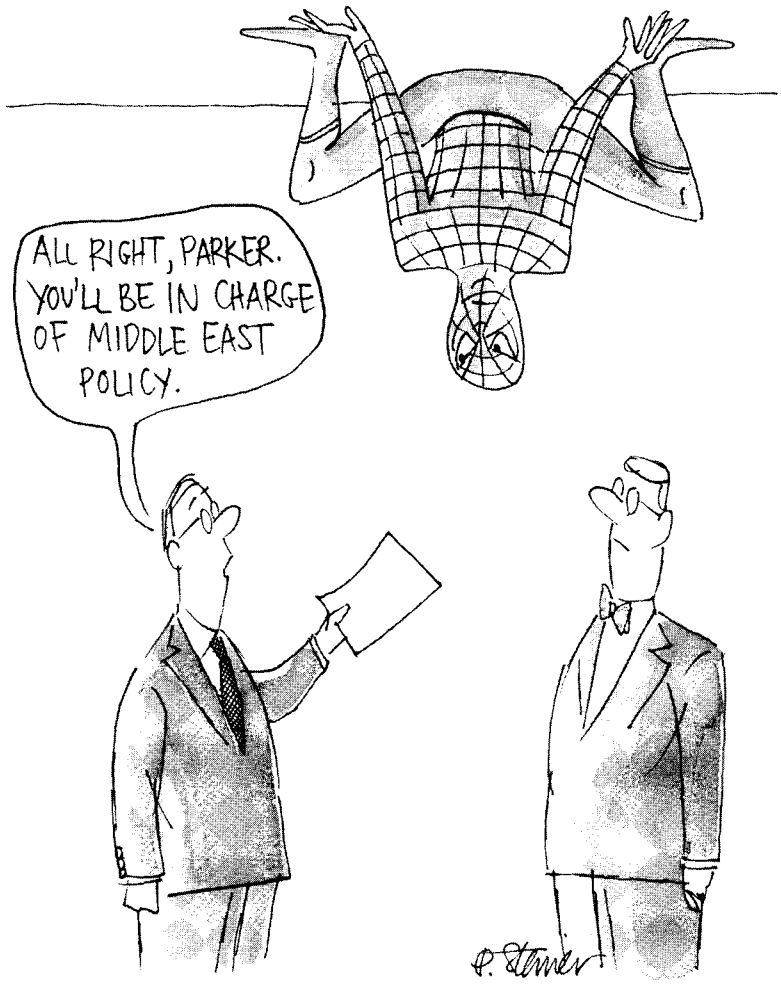

own culture and poetry of resistance." Shingavi knows a thing or two about a culture of resistance. The university last month suspended Shingavi's group, "Students for Justice in Palestine," for what the campus daily described as its "five-hour siege of a campus building." It has since been reinstated.

Chancellor Robert Berdahl says the school will review the course to make sure anyone who wants to take the class can do so—a policy that doesn't sit well with Shingavi.

"If you can't accept that Palestinians have the right to self-determination, it is impossible to read resistance poetry. Instructors should have the right to teach the material that they want and should have control over the discussion." Right. Coming next spring: "The Politics and Poetics of Bomb-making. Jews are encouraged to seek other sections." ♦

The Health of Taiwan

In the category of too-absurd-to-believe, the World Health Organization meets on Monday, May 13, in Geneva, Switzerland, and for the fifth year in a row, Taiwan's efforts to gain observer status will have come to naught. The WHO, which is dedicated to ensuring that all people of the world have access to the highest attainable level of health care, apparently doesn't have room for Taiwan's democracy. (In contrast, the WHO does have room for the Palestinian Authority.)

To its credit, Congress passed legislation requiring the secretary of state to come up with a plan for obtaining observer status for Taiwan at this year's World Health Assembly. But the secretary and the department ignored the hint, and State will be once again sitting on its hands on Monday. Maybe they should wash them after the assembly finishes. ♦

Faith-Based, at Last?

On May 2, 600 people from 25 states came to Washington, D.C., to lobby for the president's CARE Act, the Senate version of his faith-based initiative. The rally was organized by Mike Joyce's Americans for Community and Faith-Centered Enterprise and by the Charitable Giving Coalition. Representatives from over 150 groups attended, ranging, in the words of Joe Lieberman, from "Agudath Israel to Wal-Mart."

Why a rally? After all, though the faith-based measure was once a political lightning rod, the bill now has broad institutional and political support, and almost no organized opposition. It has been endorsed by Tom Daschle. It was introduced by Lieberman and the GOP's Rick Santorum, and counts Hillary Clinton among its cosponsors. What's more, the bill was altered to respond to the needs of charitable organizations in the aftermath of the September 11 attacks. Yet like much of the president's agenda, it remains stalled in the Senate, with conflicting stories about whether it will be marked up in the next few weeks. The fate of this bill will demonstrate if there is even a modicum of reality left to the claim of renewed bipartisanship. ♦

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Casual

An Officer and a Grandpa

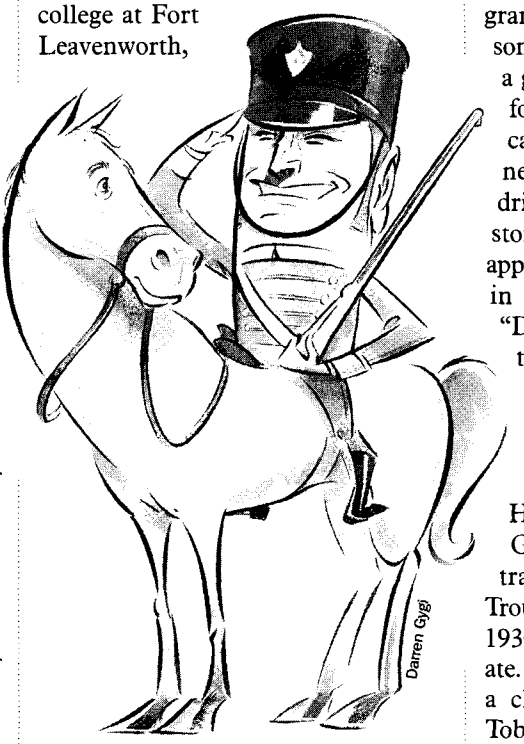
The cadets at West Point didn't get a "be no." It's shorthand for the announcement cadets most love to hear: "There will be no parade today." Bad weather is usually what prompts a "be no." The phrase has also become cadet slang for something that won't happen. If your date cancels, you got a "be no."

Last week, late in the afternoon, and solely for the benefit of myself, my wife Barbara, seven of my relatives, and about 150 other folks, the cadets marched. The weather was fine. The cadets surely had better things to do. Exams are coming up. But for the descendants of the West Point class of 1902 sitting in the reviewing stand, there was no place they'd rather have been.

The centennial of that class was the reason for the parade and for a day of activity honoring the 54 graduates (the class of 2002, by contrast, has nearly 1,000 members). My grandfather, Troup Miller, was a 1902 grad, a young man from Macon, Georgia, who joined the National Guard out of high school and set his sights on West Point. Many of the stars of his class served in the Corps of Engineers after graduation, but my grandfather joined the cavalry, the *horse* cavalry.

Troup Miller was a man who knew his own mind. Or as therapists might say today, he was in touch with his feelings. As a young officer, he was introduced to a beautiful young woman from Atlanta named Alice Coffin. The idea was marriage. And it made sense: the handsome military man and son of a respected Macon judge and the oldest daughter of a prominent Atlanta family. Only it was a "be no." He fell in love with one of Alice's four sisters, Rosa, and married her instead.

As they do today, American officers after the turn of the century served all over the world. My grandfather spent two tours in the Philippines, which the United States had acquired in the Spanish-American War. Then came World War I, in which he fought in the Argonne Forest and at St. Mihiel. Postwar, he was assigned to the staff college at Fort Leavenworth, Kansas, teaching Dwight Eisenhower among others. He spent most of the 1920s in Washington, and in the late 1930s he commanded the cavalry post at the Presidio of Monterey in California.



One of the lieutenants under his command was a West Point graduate in 1934, a fellow who, like my grandfather, didn't think the advent of the tank meant the end of the cavalry. Anyway, Troup Miller's daughter Rosa, just out of college, joined her parents in Monterey, met the lieutenant, and married him in 1937. They are my parents.

Miller was one of seven in the class of 1902 who was promoted to general. (Douglas MacArthur was class of 1903.) Still, regulations required retirement after 40 years. Retirement, however, was a "be no." It was 1942 and World War II was raging. Retirement lasted one day. Then he was ordered back to active duty, staying through 1945 as inspector general of the Eastern Defense Command.

My grandfather was not a stereotypical Army officer. There was no harshness in him, yet he had a commanding presence—erect, firm, reserved in speech. I never heard him utter an unkind word, and I spent a lot of time with him. He doted on his five grandchildren. I was his only grandson, so I got special attention. He was a great fungo batter, hitting fly balls for me to catch for hours. He played cards with his grandkids, though never on Sunday. He took us to drive-in movies. He was a wonderful storyteller. His favorite involved the appearance of Teddy Roosevelt's tailor in a White House receiving line. "Don't you know, Mr. President," the tailor said. "I made your pants." Roosevelt then introduced him to Mrs. Roosevelt as "Major Pants."

Next to his family, Troup Miller's great love was West Point. He was proud to belong to the Long Gray Line. He began a West Point tradition in his family. His son, Troup Jr., was a West Pointer, class of 1930. His daughter married a graduate. His granddaughter, Judy, married a class of 1954 West Pointer, Dan Tobin. His great-grandson, Steve Emmons, altered the tradition a bit by going to the Air Force Academy, class of 1989.

Then there was his grandson. My grandfather planted the West Point tradition in me. Every Tuesday or Wednesday during football season I'd get a letter from him with the *New York Times* story on the Army football game enclosed. We talked about his becoming the oldest living graduate of West Point and my becoming a cadet. But he died at age 77 in 1957. I was 14. If he'd lived on, I suspect I'd have wound up, one way or another, at West Point. But the way things worked out, that was a "be no."

Fred Barnes

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The Fall of France

Christopher Caldwell's "Liberté, Egalité, Judéophobie" (May 6) is the single most insightful commentary I have yet read concerning the situation France faces at this point in history.

Personally, I cannot help being pessimistic about a culture led by a self-hating Left that is being used by third world opportunists who take every possible advantage of democracy for the purpose of one day defeating it outright.

The wave of mass violence against Jews in France by Islamic militants is severely underreported in the mainstream press, as is the fact that Islamists are a growing source of terror afflicting that country. If Jean-Marie Le Pen and the National Front did not exist, our news organizations would have to create him to fit that role.

Raul Massuet
Branchville, NJ

As someone who has spent most of his life teaching and writing French literature, I find Christopher Caldwell's "Liberté, Egalité, Judéophobie" both excellent reportage and commentary but somewhat deficient in perspective.

French culture from its inception was foundationally and often exquisitely steeped in the Hebraic, flowing into Christianity, as Jesus and the Virgin Mary supremely exemplified in the dominant Catholic tradition. That, of course, is almost gone, but has left an emptiness and confusion such that Malraux, no bigot, declared that "the 21st century will be religious or won't exist."

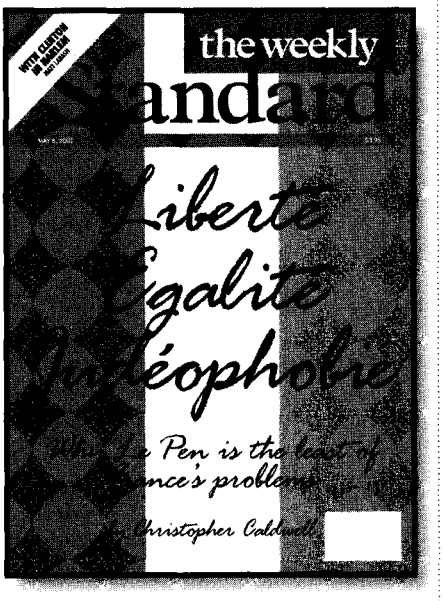
Putting aside the renewed plight of French Jews, under physical assault from local Muslim youths and ideologically as well from Muslims' left-wing allies, and the daily horror of Jewish existence in France, what seasoned Francophile doesn't feel "What a falling off was there!"

It is similar in Germany, next door. But there, north of the Danube, almost since the time of Tacitus, Judeo-Christianity never did firmly win out over paganism. Luther tried to gather the Jews in a vast holding area, and Hitler went much farther. The youth repented for a while, but here we go again.

What a difference in America, which was staunchly Judeo-Christian from the start and still mainly is, from the president and Congress on down, ignoring the loony campuses and the intellectual Left.

So it is all mainly a matter of faith and knowing who you are. French secularism "wholly admirable"? As Roger Martin du Gard describes the charming intellectual atmosphere under the Third Republic, it wasn't really secular. Its greatest poets, including the princely Mallarmé ("You can't do without Eden"), were subtly faith-drenched. Proust spoke of a "lovelier world" beyond us. Even Camus, penitently, later confessed "there is something vulgar about the anti-religious attitude." And vastly murderous.

That was the France we won't forget



and that we fought for in World War II. The current crop of clever, gutless, listless, morose hedonists is something to live down.

Robert Greer Cohn
Palo Alto, CA

The primary targets of anti-Semitic violence in France are the Jewish immigrants from North Africa. They live in the same poor neighborhoods as the Muslim immigrants. The French Left insists that all French Jews are well assimilated and well off, but that's simply not true. It's convenient to believe that Jews can no longer claim victim status in France. Although, we have learned from the past that being assimilated and middle class doesn't prevent one from being the victim of anti-Semitism in France or anywhere else.

The French Foreign Ministry and some E.U. leaders believe that American Jews are the biggest obstacle to peace in the Middle East. They have agreed to launch a campaign to change American Jewish public opinion. But the European Union should not be trusted to intervene in the Middle East since its member nations can't protect their resident Jews.

I'd love to talk with the E.U. leaders about their apparent anti-Semitism, but they will have to come to America, because it's not safe for American Jews to go to Paris or Brussels.

Susan A. Stein
Philadelphia, PA

In "Liberté, Egalité, Judéophobie," Christopher Caldwell says Holocaust deniers are mentally ill.

When the South African prime minister John Vorster made a state visit to Israel in April 1976, it began with a tour of Yad Vashem, Israel's major Holocaust memorial, where the late Yitzhak Rabin invited the onetime Nazi collaborator, unabashed racist, and white supremacist to pay homage to Jews murdered in the Holocaust.

Compared, say, to routine outcries from organized Jewry over often even mild whiffs of Holocaust controversy, no less remarkable was the bland equanimity both Israeli and diaspora Jews displayed toward the Vorster visit.

As historian Benjamin Beit-Hallahmi recalls, "For most Israelis, the Vorster visit was just another state visit by a foreign leader. It did not draw much attention.

"Most Israelis did not even remember his name, and did not see anything unusual, much less surreal in the scene [an old Nazi diehard invited to 'mourn' the victims at a Holocaust memorial]: Vorster was just another visiting dignitary being treated to the usual routine."

As an old Nazi collaborator, Vorster should have been arrested and tried the minute he set foot on Israeli soil. Instead, he was graciously welcomed by his Jewish hosts.

The South African leader left Israel four days later—after signing a number of friendship treaties between the Jewish

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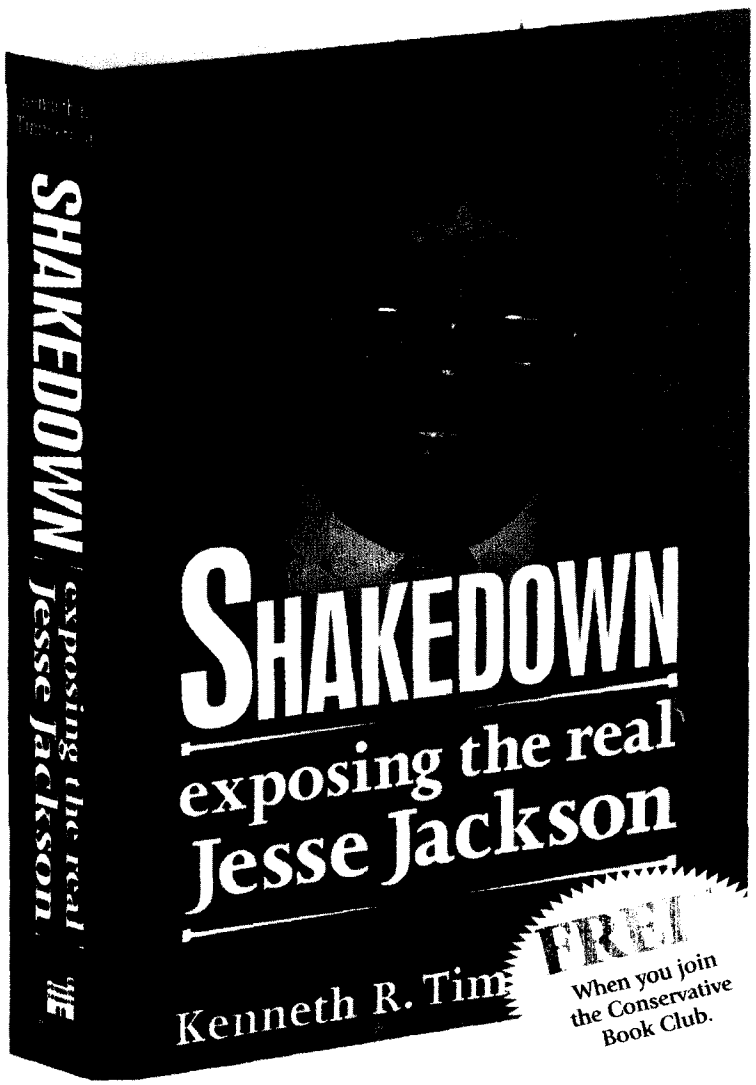
JESSE JACKSON EXPOSED!



For years he has practiced the art of the shakedown, but has been given a free pass by the liberal media. Now, thanks to veteran investigative reporter Ken Timmerman, the truth has finally caught up with him.

In SHAKEDOWN, Timmerman uncovers:

- Jackson's "ritual humiliation" of Texaco, which awarded $1 billion in business contracts to companies with direct ties to Jackson.
- How Jackson threatened to stymie a huge media-company merger with "racism" charges – then gave it his "blessing" after receiving a $2 million "contribution."
- The shakedown of Anheuser-Busch, which ended only when the brewer awarded Jackson's sons, Yusef and Jonathan, a lucrative Chicago beer distributorship.

. . . and other stories of sleaze, intimidation, and scandal.

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state and South Africa's racist, apartheid regime. This diplomatic episode, by any definition, was tantamount to Holocaust denial.

Would Caldwell dare suggest the late Yitzhak Rabin, for one (of many, many Jews), caused this to happen because he was mentally ill?

OREST SLEPOKURA
Strathmore, Canada

THE U.N. VS. DAVID TELL

DAVID TELL's honest reporting about the unbelievably anti-Semitic organization that the United Nations has turned out to be is refreshing ("The U.N.'s Israel Obsession," May 6). It seems the only thing united about these United Nations is their hatred of Israel and of Jews.

EDNA BALL
Whittier, CA

IN "THE U.N.'S ISRAEL OBSESSION," David Tell is right at every turn about the anti-Semitism at the United Nations. The only long-term solution to this dilemma is a walkout of prominent democracies from the U.N., and the formation of a truly democratic world organization whose members are demonstrated democracies. As democracies hold most of the world's fiscal and military power, the new organization would deter aggression and appeal to countries that teeter between democracy and totalitarianism to become democracies and join it.

The big problem of course is promoting this idea, and giving the necessary courage to the first few members to take the critical step. Israel would not be worse off if it resigned from the U.N. this very day. But American interests may be hurt by such a step, and the United States' veto power in the U.N. Security Council is necessary to protect Israel from a U.N.-sanctioned military attack.

The exodus of democracies from the U.N. should be coordinated among such countries as Taiwan, Germany, Britain, South Africa, Australia, and New Zealand. This way, the initial power of the new, democratic organization would be great enough both to deter attacks and win more members—otherwise the experiment will peter out, and ensure continued domination of anti-democratic nations in the United Nations, whose spirit imbues its officials.

AMOS DIAMANT
Israel

DAVID TELL's "The U.N.'s Israel Obsession" is a tour de force.

I would like, however, to provide one additional detail: The United States donates $89 million, about 26 percent, of the United Nations Relief and Works Agency's $339 million budget. The time, I think, has come to reconsider this costly allocation, particularly in light of the facts surrounding UNRWA's complicity in Palestinian terror.

Another point to consider is that the Arab nations are supposed to provide 7 percent of UNRWA's annual funding. But the Arab brothers of the Palestinians are not so generous: They contribute only about 1.8 percent of the agency's funds. Food for thought indeed.

RAMON G. MCLEOD
Pacifica, CA

RIGHT RESPONSE TO RAGE

RARELY does a short news article accomplish so much with me as "Osama's Brain" by Dinesh D'Souza (April 29), which examines the writings of Egyptian thinker Sayyid Qutb as the intellectual underpinnings of current Islamic extremism.

Short of reading dozens of books by questionable "experts," I believe that this snapshot of the foundations of Islamic anti-Western sentiment is one of the more educational experiences I could hope for—particularly from the news media. Since the penchant of much of the media these days is to pass off editorializing as reporting, I am constantly looking for the slant in pieces such as D'Souza's.

The final sentence of this piece legitimizes and elevates the entire article, in my view, to the status of essential knowledge. Countering Sayyid Qutb's idea of Islamic superiority, D'Souza writes, "will require a full-bodied defense of freedom as understood in the West, as a gift from God and a necessary precondition for true virtue."

I can hardly imagine a more terrifying view of the West than Sayyid's Qutb's, outlined by D'Souza. It is also hard to imagine a more stout and morally superior answer to that view than his spiritual and meaningful conclusion.

KAREN CALDERONE
Charlotte, NC

REVOLT OF THE CHECKERS

I FOUND the Casual by Christopher Caldwell, "A Sorry State" (April 15), to be demeaning to all people unfortunate enough to work in the customer service industry. Perhaps Caldwell has never worked an entry-level service job.

There was no need for the clerk to apologize for mis-keying his purchase. Perhaps Caldwell doesn't know what it is like to work at a corporate bookstore for $6.00 an hour, while customers like him pass their inherent bad moods on to those around them—people who don't matter because they are simply at work, there to be stepped on and ridiculed.

Perhaps Caldwell should be looking in other places for reassurances that the world is peachy-keen, instead of in the faces of strangers. Maybe he needs something more productive to do if he is writing whole articles on something as insignificant as a mis-keyed purchase.

My bet is that the Borders clerk only works there as a "sidelight," as Caldwell suggests. I should hope so. Is he expected to be warming up his fingers, meticulously practicing for customers to come in and buy cheap paperbacks? Most people don't work in the service industry by choice. In all likelihood, Caldwell vastly underestimated the clerk's intelligence. The clerk, instead of Christopher Caldwell, is owed an apology in this situation.

KELLY PACKER
Missoula, MT

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the weekly Standard

The Saudi Terror Subsidy

At 7:53 A.M. local time on August 21, 1995, a Number 26 bus filled with Monday morning commuters slowed to a stop in front of Rene Kassem High School in the northern Ramat Eshkol suburb of Jerusalem. Rene Kassem just happened to be out of session that day; its students owe their lives to a fluke of the academic calendar. But passengers on the Number 26 were not so lucky, for sitting with them was Sufian Jabarin, a recent Hamas recruit, who chose that moment to blow himself up. The force of the explosion was enough to set adjacent traffic on fire and blow in windows hundreds of feet away. Witnesses reported seeing two small girls walk away from the immediate wreckage, covered in blood but without their clothes or hair and crying for their mother. Few of their fellow passengers could walk at all, however. One body was left suspended from a shard of metal on what had been the bus's roof. Others remained in their seats—mutilated, blackened by the flames, at least one of them decapitated.

Among the dead was 47-year-old schoolteacher Joan Davenny, an American from Woodbridge, Connecticut, who had just begun a fellowship sabbatical at Hebrew University. Today, almost seven years later, our State Department's Diplomatic Security Service still offers a reward of up to $5 million dollars for "information" leading to the arrest or conviction of "those persons responsible" for Davenny's murder.

Which is rather peculiar, since "information" is not what's needed to close the case. The bomber himself, Sufian Jabarin, is dead, of course. The mastermind of Jabarin's Hamas cell, Yahya Ayyash, the infamous "Engineer," was assassinated in January 1996. The man who gave Jabarin his explosives, Muhhi a-Din Sharif, killed himself by accident with another such device in 1998. Abdel Nasser Issa, who manufactured Jabarin's bomb, and Abd al-Majid Dudin, who trained him in the art of "martyrdom," are both in Israeli prisons. Only Muhammad Dief, the Hamas commander who authorized the attack that killed Joan Davenny, is still alive and free.

And where is Dief, exactly? THE WEEKLY STANDARD has "learned"—because it has been a publicly acknowledged fact for years and years already; the State Department can keep its $5 million—that Yasser Arafat has him. Denying news reports that he has actually set the man loose on the sly, Yasser Arafat insists that Muhammad Dief remains in Palestinian Authority custody, at an undisclosed location, *so as to protect him from arrest by the Israelis.* In other words: Yasser Arafat, who the American government officially pretends is "indispensable to Middle East peace," is shielding a fugitive wanted in connection with the murder of a U.S. citizen. In fact, Yasser Arafat, who pretended to condemn that murder at the time, later threw a full state funeral for the murderer, suicide bomber Sufian Jabarin, after his body was returned by the Israelis in June of 2000. As thousands of Palestinians watched and cheered, Arafat's personal guard detail gave Jabarin a 21-gun hero's salute.

Arafat must think we Americans are fools.

And then there is the governing royal family of Saudi Arabia, which provides a handsome financial bounty to the surviving relatives of "martyrs" like Jabarin. Oh, sure, the Saudis reject the accusation. Just last week, responding to Israel's latest and best-yet effort to document the practice, Prince Bandar bin Sultan, the kingdom's ambassador to the United States, denounced as "baseless" any suggestion that Saudi money "goes to evildoers." The Israelis, Prince Bandar complained, are engaged in a "shameful and counterproductive" attempt to discredit his family, "which has been a leading voice for peace." Any charge "that Saudi Arabia is paying suicide bombers," he reiterated, is "totally false."

The ambassador was lying. And he has so far gotten away with it. Nearly a week has gone by and still no major American newspaper has noticed—just as the hapless Saudi functionaries who posted Bandar's indignant statement on their Washington embassy website apparently failed to notice—that the very same website's archives contain some quite elaborate and extensive boasting, helpfully translated into English, about exactly what the prince now denies is true. An embassy press release from January 2001 describes how the "Saudi Committee for Support of the *Al-Quds* Intifada," chaired and administered by Prince Nayef bin Abdulaziz, the kingdom's interior minister, has distributed

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$33 million to "deserving Palestinians," including "the families of 2,281 prisoners and 358 martyrs." An embassy press release from March 2001 quotes Saudi finance minister Ibrahim al-Assaf reporting on the kingdom's $50 million contribution to an international, pan-Arab fund designed "to educate the sons of martyrs and rehabilitate the injured"—this in addition to Prince Nayef's separate support committee, which has "pledged a sum of SR 20,000 ($5,333) to each family that has suffered from martyrdom." An embassy press release from April 2001 announces that "Prince Sultan Affirms [the] Kingdom's Support" for the Palestinian intifada, to the tune of $40 million already disbursed "to the families of those martyred" and other worthies.

As it happens, all this talk of "martyrs" and "martyrdom" is not at all uncommon in Saudi Arabia. Less than a month ago, for example, the government-controlled daily *Al-Jazirah* published a hymn of praise to two recent Palestinian "martyrs"—both suicide bombers, one of them a 16-year-old girl: "May Allah have mercy on you, oh beloved of the Arab nation . . . you restored life that had begun to expire," et cetera. So, then: If suicide bombers are martyrs, and the Saudi royal family is proudly distributing cash to the relatives of martyrs, an ordinary person would conclude—would he not?—that the Saudi royal family is proudly distributing cash to the relatives of suicide bombers. But that is a logic the United States and other Western governments, desperate to preserve their "friendship" with the "moderate" House of Saud, have so far refused to accept. Instead, they have wished the evidence away: "troubling," they've mumbled, but "unconfirmed" and therefore "inconclusive."

Yes, well. Now the evidence is such that none of those terms even remotely applies, not even "troubling"—appalling being much the better word for it.

Three months ago, you see, on February 18, an outfit called the "Psychological and Social Research Center for the Wounded Palestinian" ran a notice in Ramallah's *Al Hayyat Al Jedida* newspaper addressed to "families of the fatalities" scheduled to receive contributions from the "tenth payment cycle" of the Saudi Committee for Support of the *Al-Quds* Intifada. Those families, the notice advised, should "apply to the Arab Bank branch near their residence" to receive payments of $5,216.06 apiece—"in accordance with the instructions of the Emir Nayef bin Abdulaziz, Minister of the Interior and General Supervisor of the Committee."

And early last week, Israel made public a cache of documents, lately captured by its soldiers during Operation Defensive Shield, that clarify exactly what the emir's instructions entail and who those "families of the fatalities" might be. According to Saudi government spreadsheets bearing the logo of the Saudi Committee for Support of the *Al-Quds* Intifada, that committee's aforementioned "tenth payment cycle" included among its beneficiaries the relatives of eight Palestinian terrorist bombers, all of them specifically and explicitly singled out by Saudi bookkeepers for their participation in *amaliah istishadiah*: "suicide operations."

Oh, and one other thing: The Israelis have also captured and now made public similar Saudi spreadsheets exhaustively chronicling an earlier, "third payment cycle" of the Interior Ministry's intifada "charity." During which payment cycle, these documents establish in deadpan bureaucratese, that slush fund provided one of its standard rewards—again, for their martyred loved one's performance of *amaliah istishadiah*—to the family of . . . Sufian Jabarin, the man who blew up the Number 26 bus in Jerusalem on August 21, 1995, killing Joan Davenny.

There you have it. The Saudi royal family, according to its own internal records, has just recently paid a hefty cash prize for the murder of a U.S. citizen.

Neither the *New York Times* nor the *Washington Post* has bothered to report this astonishing little detail. And no U.S. government official has managed to utter a peep of complaint about it.

The Saudis, too, must think we Americans are fools. Surely it would behoove our president to disabuse them of this notion?

—David Tell, for the Editors

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Don't Tread on Us!

How to handle the International Criminal Court.

BY JEREMY RABKIN

Daumier / "The Incriminating Evidence"

AFTER A YEAR of internal debate, the Bush administration announced a decision last week: The United States would no longer consider itself a signatory to the Rome Treaty establishing the International Criminal Court.

The world barely reacted. The American media yawned. The policy decision was not announced by the president or the secretary of state. It was made public by Marc Grossman, undersecretary of state for political affairs, at a hastily organized presentation, hosted by a think tank in Washington on May 6.

It was not exactly big news that the United States would not join the ICC. Even President Clinton had described the Rome treaty as "flawed" when he signed it in the last weeks of his term. It was never submitted to the Senate and has never had any prospect of ratification.

Unsigning the treaty does release the United States from its obligation under customary law (as codified in the 1969 Vienna Convention on the Law of Treaties) to "refrain from acts which would defeat the object and purpose" of the treaty. But what will the administration actually do now to "defeat the object and purpose" of the Rome treaty? Grossman didn't say.

To the contrary, he stressed general American sympathy for the aims of the ICC. "From our pioneering leadership in the creation of tribunals in Nuremberg, the Far East, and the International Criminal Tribunals for the former Yugoslavia and Rwanda, the United States has been in the forefront of promoting international justice." Grossman made no distinction between trials conducted in Germany and Japan after the war, where the United States exercised sovereign powers through its military occupation, and tribunals created by the Security Council in the 1990s to judge perpetrators of crimes in states still regarded as sovereign.

The fact is that in Rwanda, the U.N. tribunal has generated tremendous frustration by protecting the perpetrators of genocide, very few of whom have actually been punished. The tribunal for the Balkans has managed to make Slobodan Milosevic popular again in Serbia. At the same time it has made democratic leaders—those who actually overthrew Milosevic—look weak and incapable, because the tribunal would not even let Serbia's democratic government attempt its own trial of the former dictator, and the trial in The Hague has been incompetently organized.

In the State Department view of the world, however, international justice is just fine—as long as it is imposed by the Security Council, where the United States has a veto. So, says Grossman, the "United States will use its position on the U.N. Security Council to act in support of justice" and we "ask those nations who have decided to join the Rome Treaty to meet us there."

No wonder there hasn't been much outcry. We'll meet you in New York. They'll wait for us in Rome or at The Hague. It's just a dispute about the address, it seems.

What the Bush administration did not say—at least not at all clearly—is what it will do if the ICC does indict Americans and signatory states then follow through with arrests. The administration does not seem to have thought that far ahead. But it may not have more than a few months to figure out a response.

Jeremy Rabkin teaches international law at Cornell University.

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It's true that Americans get arrested in other countries all the time for crimes committed in those countries. In principle, we have no objection to sovereign states exercising criminal jurisdiction in their own territory. But if the United States government thinks the arrest of an American abroad was unfair or abusive, it can, in the normal case, register a strong protest with the arresting state and try, in various ways, to get that state to change its position.

What the ICC treaty does is remove the element of state responsibility. The arresting state can claim that it is just following orders from The Hague: "nothing personal." The accused may then be sent to prison facilities in the Netherlands while awaiting trial. But the Dutch government will also disclaim any responsibility for holding an American because it is the ICC which is making the decisions.

This is intolerable and the administration needs to say so very clearly. The last time a government disclaimed responsibility for the detention of Americans, it was the new government of Iran in 1979, claiming that it could not control the revolutionary students who held personnel in the U.S. embassy as prisoners for more than a year. The only thing different about arresting or holding Americans for the ICC is that the detaining states—or the hosts for the detention—have signed a treaty saying they will do so. That should have no bearing on the American position. The treaty is an agreement between the arresting state (or the Dutch state) and other consenting states. The United States has not consented. Its right to act in defense of its own citizens can't be waived away by treaty agreements among third parties.

Congress has been considering bills to authorize the president to take retaliatory action (including military action) against any country that seizes or holds Americans for trial before the ICC. Majorities in both the House and the Senate have endorsed such measures. The administration ought to be taking the lead in getting some measure of this kind on the books.

Is that too unilateralist? It is the ICC which is, in the relevant respects, "unilateralist" by imposing new conditions on independent states without their consent. The fact that several states do this in collaboration doesn't change the underlying fact that a new authority is being imposed on others without their consent.

As it happens, the non-consenters include the overwhelming majority of

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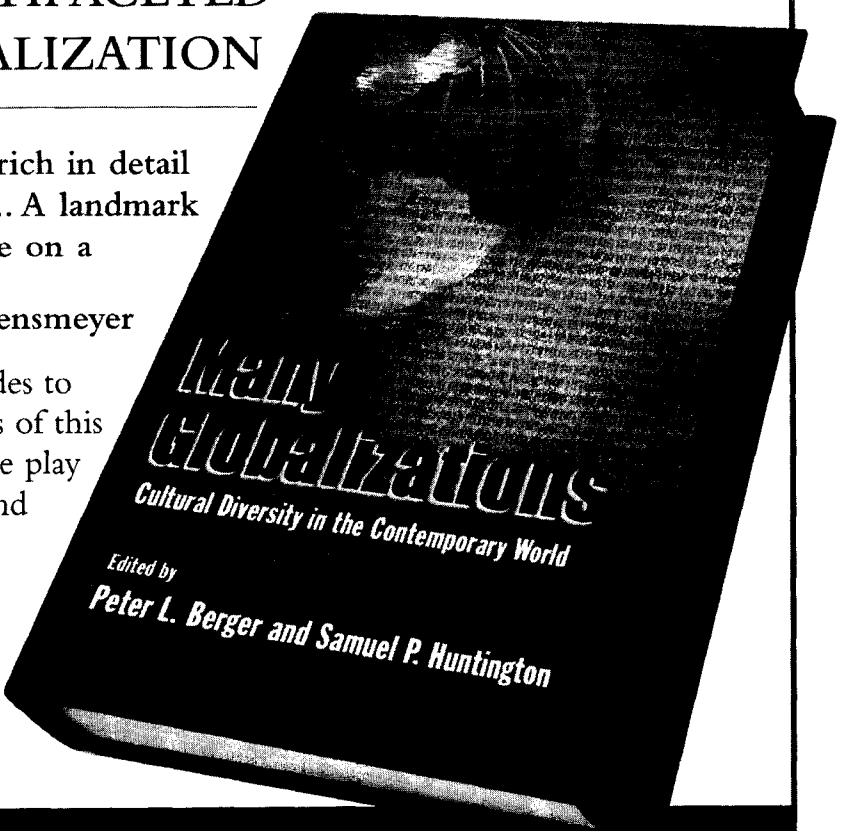

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U.N. member states and a still more overwhelming majority of the world's people (with China, India, Indonesia, Brazil, Mexico, Russia, and other large states among the non-ratifiers). On the whole, the 70 or so states that have ratified are essentially Euros and their former colonies in Africa, along with a sprinkling of nice little states like New Zealand and Ecuador.

If the administration is afraid of appearing "unilateralist," it should be trying to rally non-ratifying states to a common position against the court. All non-ratifying states have a common stake in resisting the notion that "international justice" can be imposed on them because European socialists think it would be nice to do so and their client states have signed on to the project.

Now is not the best time to do this, when the United States is already trying to rally international cooperation for a war on terror. The truth is that the war on terror makes it essential to act against the ICC. The United States wants to hold states accountable for sponsoring terror. It is acting and should be glad if others act to hold terror sponsors accountable. Accountability means military action. In the midst of a war on terror, the last thing we want is an international arbiter of "aggression" or "war crimes," handing down moral judgments from his cozy perch in Euroland, where they do no fighting but are only too happy to pass judgment on those who do.

There's a big world out there, beyond Europe. America should be part of it. The administration should spend less time worrying about the moral vanities of Europeans and more time building what Secretary Rumsfeld used to call "coalitions of the willing." In the coalition to contain the new Euro-court, there are plenty of "willing" partners. They don't have the refined sensibilities of the Germans and the French? That's okay, too. Let the Euro-court offer justice to Botswana and Nauru, Mauritius and Mongolia. The United States can stand with Australia, India, Israel, Mexico, Russia, and other self-respecting states. ♦

The "Fascist" and the "Activist"

The media get the late Pim Fortuyn wrong.

BY DAVID BROOKS

THE PRESS, Tom Wolfe noted in *The Right Stuff*, is a Victorian gentleman. After each event, the Victorian gent struggles to find the correct emotional response. Once the correct emotion has been discerned, it is repeated and recirculated with a pious self-assurance familiar to 19th-century drawing rooms. All data that support the correct emotion are emphasized, while all that do not are ignored.

On May 6, the Dutch politician Pim Fortuyn was assassinated, and an expression of troubled concern came over the press's collective visage. This violence is disturbing, the Victorian gent pronounced, especially in a country as peaceful as the Netherlands (the correct emotion to have toward the Netherlands is that it is liberal and tolerant, if a little drug-addled).

But Mr. Fortuyn wanted to drastically scale back Dutch immigration, and even in the face of his murder, the members of the press would be neglecting their gentlemanly duty if they did not lead their readers to the correct emotional response to this factoid. The *Financial Times* hence labeled Mr. Fortuyn a "far-right extremist." The *New York Times* called him a "far right leader" and compared him to France's Jean-Marie Le Pen and Austria's Jörg Haider. (The *Times* also called Fortuyn's alleged assassin an "environmental activist"—activism perhaps being the term of choice for the action of putting five bullets into far-right extremists.)

David Brooks is a senior editor at THE WEEKLY STANDARD.

The European press, which since World War II has assigned itself the noble mission of suppressing the views of the European masses, was even more aggressive in repeating and enforcing the correct line vis-à-vis the newly dead Dutch pol. Mr. Fortuyn, the Spanish newspaper *El Mundo* declared, was an "incendiary racist" and a "distant heir" to Hitler. The *Irish Times* labeled his views "anti-democratic," which was odd since his views were being expressed in the context of an election campaign. *Aftonbladet*, the most popular Swedish newspaper, likened him to a brownshirt—a fascist. In Germany *Der Spiegel* called him "the voice of hidden racism."

But there were some facts that didn't fit neatly into the Fortuyn-as-Le Pen stereotype. All the news stories mentioned that Fortuyn was gay, and did treat this as an intriguing wrinkle. However, they did not point out, since it would have been confusing, that Fortuyn was actually a champion of what you might call a radical gay lifestyle. He boasted of his promiscuity, of his nights spent in the back rooms of gay bars, the delight he took in the male prostitutes he kept around the house.

Fortuyn was also an enthusiastic supporter of drug legalization and laxer rules on euthanasia. Unlike Le Pen, he was not an opponent of free trade and globalization. While Le Pen loathes what he calls Anglo-Saxon economic liberalism, Fortuyn admired Margaret Thatcher. Confronted with bloated government, Fortuyn once declared, "I will borrow that handbag from Margaret Thatcher, bang it on the table,

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and say I want my money back."

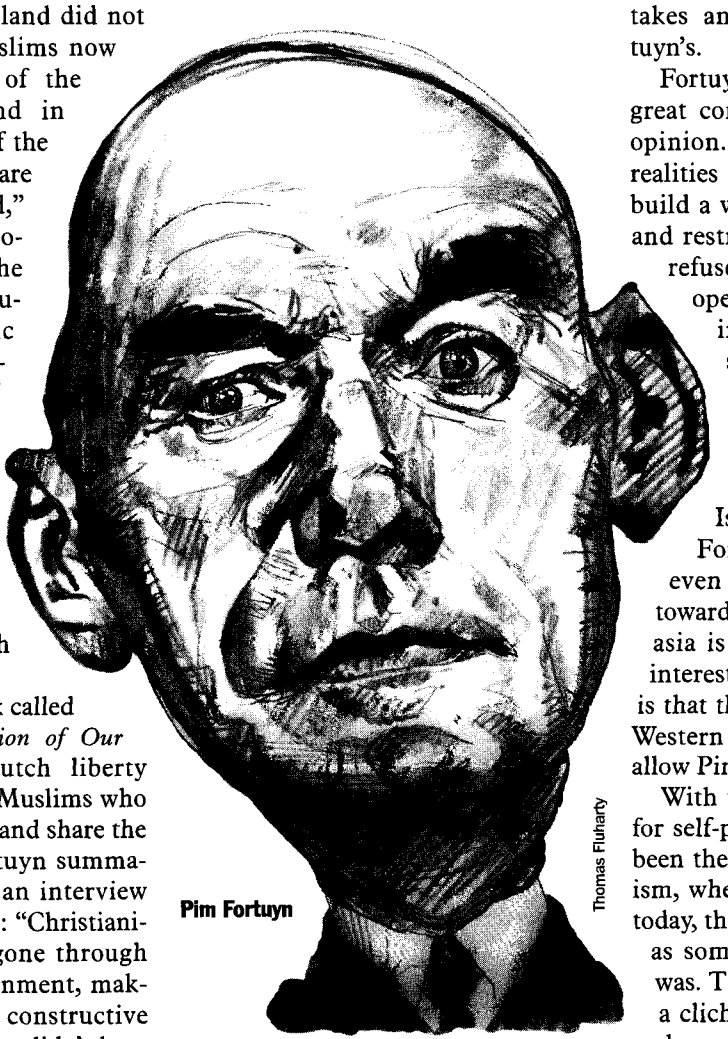
In other words, Mr. Fortuyn was something of a libertarian, which puts him in an entirely different camp from Le Pen, Haider, and the others. But Fortuyn was not simply a libertarian, he was a nationalist libertarian. Mr. Fortuyn was proud of his country as a haven for liberty, gender equality, acceptance of homosexuals, soft drugs, and alternative lifestyles.

But he perceived that most Muslim immigrants to Holland did not share these views. Muslims now make up one-eighth of the Dutch population, and in many cities over half of the young people under 12 are Muslim. "In Holland," Fortuyn asked, "homosexuality is treated the same way as heterosexuality. In what Islamic country does that happen?" Speaking of Islam, he declared: "How can you respect a culture if the woman has to walk several steps behind her man, has to stay in the kitchen and keep her mouth shut?"

Fortuyn wrote a book called *Against the Islamicization of Our Culture*, defending Dutch liberty against what he saw as Muslims who don't seek to assimilate and share the tolerant attitudes. Fortuyn summarized his argument in an interview shortly before his death: "Christianity and Judaism have gone through the process of enlightenment, making them creative and constructive elements in society. That didn't happen in Islam. There is a tension between the values of modern society and the principles of Islam." Fortuyn wrote another book called *Fifty Years Israel, But For How Long?* defending Israel against Islamic extremism. Israel, he argued, is an open, tolerant democracy under threat from closed, intolerant dictatorships.

What confusion for the Victorian gent! In the parlors of polite society, social tolerance sits side by side with multiculturalism. They are two pastries on the platter of polite opinion. But Fortuyn was socially tolerant, even libertine, and it was for that reason he felt he could *not* be a multiculturalist.

The Victorian gent does have a strategy when confronted with this clash of Good Opinions. Insulation. Retreat to the high-minded tolerance of your suburb and social circle, and leave it to other poor buggers to actually live with the intolerant extremists. That is to say, champion multiculturalism from the enlightened venue of leafy London or Cambridge, and force the bastards in Israel or the neighborhoods to actually confront the practical consequences of your ideas.



Pim Fortuyn

Thomas Fluharty

But Fortuyn was a nationalist. The Victorian gent disapproves of nationalism, since it is a primitive passion, like excessive religious belief. But nationalism is actually a form of unselfishness, which takes one out of one's immediate circle and induces one to love and care about one's countrymen. In America, a nation of immigrants, nationalism takes one form. In France, the land of the blood and soil *patrie*, nationalism takes another form. In Holland, the land of pot bars, nationalism takes another form yet, Mr. Fortuyn's.

Fortuyn forcefully confronted the great contradiction in enlightened opinion. He argued that given the realities of the situation, one had to build a wall around one's tolerance, and restrict the flow of people who refused to join the culture of openness. He proposed reducing immigration flows and stepping up assimilation programs.

One can argue about the merits of his platform. One can argue whether Islam is really as intolerant as Fortuyn made it out to be or even whether this intolerance toward homosexuality and euthanasia is a good thing. But what is interesting from our point of view is that the Victorian gent that is the Western press corps could not even allow Pim Fortuyn to exist.

With the unselfconscious instinct for self-preservation that has always been the great strength of Victorianism, whether in its original form or today, the gent had to depict Fortuyn as something other than what he was. The gent had to depict him as a cliché, a far-right bogeyman. To acknowledge the existence of the real Fortuyn would be to acknowledge the rift between tolerance and multiculturalism. To do that would be to explore what this rift means—what it means in the Middle East and at home.

That exploration is impermissible. It is beyond the bounds of polite discussion. Hence, it does not exist.

Pim Fortuyn is dead. In fact, he never existed. ♦

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California Schemin'

What did Gray Davis know, and when did he know it? BY STEPHEN F. HAYES

CALIFORNIA GOVERNOR Gray Davis is known for his attention to detail and his aggressive fund-raising. But now, with a fresh scandal brewing, Davis is claiming he knows no details of a controversial government contract—and that a campaign contribution accepted by a state employee who pushed for the deal had nothing to do with the unusual way Gray's top advisers awarded it.

Politicians from both parties are skeptical that Davis is telling the truth about the rushed, no-bid, $98 million software contract awarded last year to Oracle, the database giant. And as the controversy grows, it may well be the biggest threat to Davis's chances for reelection.

There's never a good time for a scandal, of course. But for Davis the timing is particularly bad. A poll taken shortly before the story broke found the incumbent leading Republican challenger Bill Simon by 14 points—something of a reversal of fortunes. Surveys taken six weeks earlier, immediately after Simon pulled off an upset of former Los Angeles mayor Richard Riordan in the Republican primary, suggested the race was even.

Flying around the Golden State in the afterglow of his primary victory, Simon declared that the gubernatorial contest would be "a referendum on the failed leadership of Gray Davis." Davis had other plans. With a compliant media, and some helpful criticism of Simon from fellow Republicans, the Davis campaign quickly refocused the debate on the favorite question in the Democratic playbook: Just how extreme is Bill Simon?

But the Oracle scandal has only two possible outcomes—either high-level incompetence in the Davis administration, or corruption. This makes Davis the story again, just as the California legislature prepares to tackle the state's budget, which is $22 billion in the red and an unmitigated political disaster for the incumbent governor.

The Oracle story started slowly. It was last fall when the *San Jose Mercury News* first published an investigation questioning the deal. But it has gained momentum in recent weeks. In mid-April, the state auditor published a scathing report on the contract, concluding that the arrangement would not only fail to produce the millions in savings for the state that Oracle had projected but could end up costing California taxpayers $41 million. "The magnitude of the dollars and the mistakes make this extremely serious," said auditor Elaine Howle, who added that the Oracle review was one of the most "troubling" audits she had conducted in her 18-year career.

Among her findings:

* A survey of 127 California state agencies taken to determine the need for the new software found that only five thought it would be helpful.

* Davis's cabinet secretary, Susan Kennedy, who is also the governor's deputy chief of staff, signed off on the deal.

* The contract secured 277,000 software licenses from Oracle, although there are only 234,000 state employees.

* Ten months after the contract was rushed through, no state departments had acquired the licenses.

More troubling than the contract

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itself, perhaps, is the $25,000 contribution to Davis's campaign that came just six days after the Oracle deal was finalized. In a Sacramento bar, Ravi Mehta, an Oracle lobbyist, handed the check to Arun Baheti, director of Davis's e-government initiative and one of the state employees pushing hardest for the Oracle contract.

Davis, for his part, claims ignorance—not just of the Oracle contract specifically, but of high-tech issues generally. "I had no idea this contract was being negotiated," he told reporters last week. "And I think most of you know, I'm barely on the information on-ramp, much less proficient in technology, so this is not a matter that would normally come to my attention. Nor did it."

He could be telling the truth. But that would mean two things that were supposed to happen didn't. On May 22, 2001, Davis's policy director Kari Dohn telephoned Betty Yee, chief deputy director of the Department of Finance, to check on the status of the contract. Yee then sent an e-mail to others in her department noting that Dohn and Arun Baheti "are hot to trot on nailing down this agreement with Oracle." She also asked about the status of the contract, "so I can brief Kari before she has to talk with the governor about this (likely sometime this week)." Davis claims that meeting never took place.

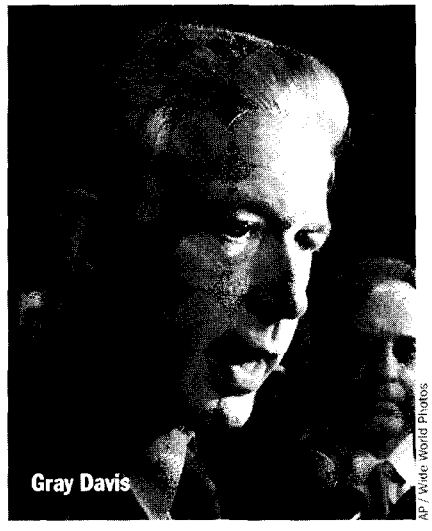
Mehta, the Oracle lobbyist, also told Dohn that Oracle CEO Larry Ellison might call Davis to discuss the deal. Both Oracle and Davis claim the phone call never happened.

But the Davis campaign doesn't have an exemplary record of being honest about the Oracle deal. Top campaign officials have known for months that Baheti accepted the $25,000 contribution from Oracle. But before that information was made public, Davis's spokesman claimed that "the people responsible for the contracts would be in no position to know about contributions to the governor, nor should they be. There are," he said, "no dots to connect."

That turned out to be wrong, as the Simon campaign noted in a statement: "The dots are starting to be connected, and they paint a very troubling picture. The taxpayers need to know whether the dots lead all the way to the governor's office."

It gets worse. Cynthia Curry, a senior attorney in the California Department of General Services, was given the contract at 12:30 P.M. on May 31, for approval that same day.

Curry says she expressed reservations about the expedited process, but the state awarded the contract anyway. "I haven't seen a contract that had so many people pushing for it in higher government," said Curry, whose job it is to study such agreements. "That was very unusual." Shortly after the contract was signed, Curry testified last week, her boss received a phone call from Susan Kennedy, the governor's deputy chief of staff, praising the General Services department as a "can-do" agency.


Gray Davis

AP / Wide World Photos

Representatives from the state of California and Oracle are in talks to cancel the embarrassing deal. And late last week, Davis vowed to return Oracle's $25,000 donation. (It's fair to ask why, though, since he maintains there was nothing shady about the contribution.)

The California legislature is looking into the contract, though Republicans carp that with the Democrats running it, the investigation is lacking. "The contract was signed in the dark of night in a secret fashion," says GOP assemblyman Rod Pacheco, a former prosecutor who sits on the panel investigating the deal. "It appears that's how they want to proceed with the investigation."

California attorney general Bill Lockyer has opened an investigation of his own. But Republicans point out that Lockyer is a Democrat who has taken $50,000 from Oracle since December 2000, more than any other elected official in the state has received. When Lockyer was asked whether he regretted taking that money from Oracle, he said, "I was wishing there was more." He has since returned it.

Understandably, skepticism is abundant. Even left-leaning editorial pages are hitting Davis hard. "Campaign fund-raising has been the great passion—indeed, the only passion—of Gov. Gray Davis' career," argued the *Sacramento Bee* in a May 4 editorial. "So when the governor's office and his campaign say that Davis knew nothing about a botched, hurry-up $95 million software contract with Oracle Corp. that led the company's lobbyist to hand over a $25,000 contribution personally to the governor's e-government director five days after the contract was signed, pardon us for being skeptical."

The *San Jose Mercury News*, echoing a request from GOP assembly leader Dave Cox, has asked the U.S. attorney's office to investigate the matter. Published reports suggest the FBI is considering a criminal probe, something FBI spokesman Nick Rossi would neither confirm nor deny.

On Friday, Bill Simon called explicitly for the U.S. attorney to get involved. "I want to give the benefit of the doubt to Bill Lockyer," he says. "But I would join with Assemblyman Dave Cox in calling for the U.S. attorney to look at it. We can have concurrent investigations.

"I mean, it's appalling. It's, it's . . . I can't even say what I think because you'll print it. It leaves the impression of dirty money, favors handed out under the table. It's garden-variety, old-style politics straight out of the movies." ♦

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A New Regime for the Palestinians?

The Sharansky Plan gains traction.

BY TOM ROSE

LAST WEEK'S STANDOFF at Bethlehem's Church of the Nativity and the suicide bombing at Rishon le Zion's Sheffield Pool Hall both made for gripping television. But neither will change the dynamic of the Israeli-Palestinian conflict the way the week's most significant development did.

The week's biggest Middle East story happened not in the region but in Washington. For the first time since the start of the now dead Oslo peace process in 1993, talk of Palestinian regime-change—a subject previously deemed unmentionable by the American and Israeli foreign policy establishments—emerged in the form of open discussion of the need for sweeping reforms of the Palestinian Authority.

The prelude to this turn of events occurred on May 3, when Israeli deputy prime minister Natan Sharansky—long the only voice to demand that Israel and the West insist upon Palestinian democratization—called for the end of the current Palestinian dictatorship in an op-ed in the *Jerusalem Post*. Under the multi-point plan Sharansky outlined, Israel, the United States, and moderate Arab states would replace the Arafat regime with a new Palestinian Administrative Authority responsible for ruling the territories currently controlled by the Palestinians. Outside funding for this PAA would be contingent upon the dismantling of terrorist organizations, the "privatization" of the now state-controlled Palestinian media, a crackdown on incitement to terror, and most important, a timetable for free and fair elections. Israel's only power over the new PAA would be its right to "veto" candidates openly endorsing violence against Israelis or directly linked to terrorist organizations or past terrorist actions.

At first, the "Sharansky Plan" generated about as much internal Israeli debate as all his previous calls for Palestinian reform—that is, none. En route to Washington, however, Sharon called Sharansky to say he was pushing to incorporate parts of the plan into the government's proposal to be presented to President Bush. Still, not a single reform-oriented element of the Sharansky Plan made it into any official Israeli document.

Natan Sharansky

AP / Wide World Photos

Nevertheless, the Sharansky Plan made the rounds in Washington. Two days after its publication in the *Jerusalem Post*, National Security Adviser Condoleezza Rice made headlines when she announced her support for "serious" Palestinian administrative reform.

Arriving in Washington the same day, neither Prime Minister Sharon nor his delegation saw the Rice statement as the dramatic positive development that it was. But this time, Israeli tone-deafness may not matter. What does matter is that what Sharon came to talk about and what Rice claimed to want were two sides of a coin: Both grasped the need to move beyond Arafat. For the first time since Oslo, it is legitimate for a senior member of the United States government to talk about changing the Palestinian regime.

Those unfamiliar with Israel's reliance on dumb luck to bail it out of jam after jam might be excused for thinking this a beautifully coordinated masterstroke. Israel's prime minister arrives in Washington carrying a bulky "briefing book" of more than 100 pages of original documents seized from Arafat's offices in Ramallah, to display "the smoking gun": irrefutable evidence that Arafat was intimately involved in dozens of specific terrorist attacks. At precisely that moment, the president's national security adviser embraces reform.

Sharon arrives to land the knockout blow, while Rice starts creating a positive vision of what should come next. The stage seems set for finally tackling the single greatest impediment to progress in the Israeli-Palestinian conflict, Yasser Arafat's regime, and replacing it with a government more tolerant and free. Now, if only more Israelis would join Sharansky in believing that decent government for and by the Palestinians could be achieved. ♦

Tom Rose is publisher of the Jerusalem Post.

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Put Your Money Where Your War Is

The underfunded Bush Doctrine.

BY GARY SCHMITT AND TOM DONNELLY

PRESIDENT BUSH has made plain from the start that the war on terrorism will be long and large. What he seems reluctant to admit is that it will also be expensive.

Since September 11, the United States has routed the Taliban and al Qaeda in Afghanistan, committed thousands of troops to assist in the fight against terror groups in the Philippines, Georgia, and elsewhere, and stationed aircraft in Kyrgyzstan, Uzbekistan, and Bulgaria. The U.S. military presence in the Persian Gulf has been strengthened, and preparations for the destruction of Saddam Hussein's regime and some sort of democratic reconstruction in Iraq are underway. In case the Saudis won't cooperate, alternate airfields and command centers are being readied in Turkey and the Gulf emirates.

Yet despite these expanded commitments and the tensions mounting throughout the Middle East, not to mention President Bush's fierce rhetoric, the implications of a larger war seem to a remarkable degree lost on Washington. Neither the administration nor Congress treats the war as a reason to accelerate the rebuilding and reform of the U.S. armed forces. The great gap between strategic ends and military means inherited from the Clinton years remains. The Pentagon's budget shortfalls affect everything from its most immediate needs to its hopes for long-term modernization and "transformation."

From the start, the administration has failed to acknowledge the likely true cost of the war. Its original wartime supplemental defense appropriation of $20 billion was not enough; the estimated costs of Afghanistan alone quickly exceeded $2 billion per month. Yet recently, the Office of Management and Budget cut 30 percent from the extra funding required to cover the reserve and National Guard mobilization after September 11. Defense Secretary Donald Rumsfeld has therefore chosen to send 14,000 soldiers home early, rather than reduce other programs to cover the $1.5 billion to keep them on the job.

Though the president touts his 2003 defense budget request, it will do little more than fund the Clinton program. When immediate war costs and past budget gimmicks are factored in—things like mandatory personnel and health care costs—the requested $48 billion "increase" shrinks to about $10 billion worth of new capability.

This is consistent with the administration's narrow view of military requirements prior to September 11. George W. Bush campaigned on a promise to "skip a generation" of weapons. Now it appears the only program slated for cancellation is the ill-starred Crusader howitzer, and the Bush administration plans no near-term expansion of the military.

In particular, Rumsfeld opposes any increase in the number of active-duty troops. Two weeks ago he told a group of soldiers, "Resources are always finite, and the question is, would we be better off increasing manpower or increasing capability and lethality?"

The trouble is that today's varied missions require lots of manpower. The failure to complete the victory in Afghanistan is partly due to the administration's reluctance to send in sufficient numbers of U.S. troops and keep them there. Any campaign in Iraq will pose similar challenges. Even the victory in the Balkans remains at issue because of doubts among local factions about our willingness to keep troops there in sufficient numbers.

Indeed, the Joint Chiefs of Staff say they need at least 50,000 more soldiers, sailors, airmen, and Marines. Gen. William Kernan, who oversees 80 percent of the forces stationed in the United States, recently told Congress we have an "overstretched" military, struggling to keep up with the demands of global operations and "fraying around the edges."

In an internal Pentagon memo, Rumsfeld went even further: "We are past the point where the Department can, without an unbelievably compelling reason, make any additional commitments." With estimates of the troops needed for Iraq ranging from 75,000 to 250,000, it's hard to know exactly what to make of this statement except that there are too few men in uniform.

The long-term budget outlook is even bleaker. The Bush request for 2003 would push defense spending to 3.5 percent of gross domestic product—up from 3 percent in Clinton's last years but down from 4.4 percent as late as 1994. Moreover, the Bush defense numbers are now projected to *decline*, reaching 3.3 percent in 2006. At those levels, the Pentagon will be short of firepower as well as manpower; the Crusader may be just the first of the larger programs to go.

Merely to pay for the tactical aircraft whose purchase is already planned won't be possible under such budgets. One result is that all the services contemplate reducing their participation in the multi-service Joint Strike Fighter program. The Air Force wants to protect its F-22 fighter program and would prefer to build a strike version of the plane. The Navy

Gary Schmitt is executive director, and Tom Donnelly is deputy director, of the Project for the New American Century.

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has announced its intention to cut its buy of JSFs from 1,600 to 1,100. Struggling with a shortage of carrier aircraft, the Navy prefers a bird in the hand, the upgraded F/A-18 now in production, to two in the bush in the form of the JSF, whose production is probably a decade away. The Navy also needs to build new variants of the F/A-18 for missions it now meets with creaking Vietnam-era EA-6B planes. And even the Marine Corps, though it would welcome the JSF to replace the Harrier, would rather have the V-22 Osprey tilt-rotor troop transport, a program the Marines are endeavoring to save (not least from their own mismanagement) and to fund.

In sum, the JSF is everyone's second priority within the military. But its outright cancellation is probably not in the cards. The program has tremendous support among U.S. allies—Great Britain alone is investing billions in development—adding a complicating political dimension to any reckoning of the plane's value.

And then there's the poor Army. The only good news for soldiers is that the Quadrennial Defense Review of 2001 did not shrink forces further. But the termination of the Crusader howitzer will leave ground forces increasingly forced to rely upon air power for close-in cover. Accordingly, the Army soon will have no choice but to change the way it fights. Ground commanders are likely to be more cautious than before, reluctant to maneuver when air cover is not immediately on call. It is amazing that a B-2 bomber based in Missouri can fly for days to attack targets in Kosovo or Afghanistan, but soldiers in a tight spot can be forgiven for preferring fire support on the ground which they control. Finally, providing air support in bad weather or at night is still an imperfect science. To make the most of the advantages U.S. ground troops gain from their ability to fight at night, they need their own fire support.

The bottom line: The United States is not spending enough on defense. If defense spending doesn't rise appreciably, we will buy smaller and smaller quantities of each system, forcing up unit costs and operational costs, all the while driving what equipment we have into the ground.

Nor can we "transform" our way out of this predicament. The editorial pages of the *New York Times* notwithstanding, the "revolution in military affairs" is no cheap fix. For example, all those space-related assets Rumsfeld's team wants are expensive; and advanced unmanned aerial vehicles—the fighters and bombers of the future—are projected to cost as much as F-16s. People are kidding themselves if they think "transformation" will magically close the gap between available resources and military requirements.

For more than a decade now, the United States has wanted to believe that its various military deployments around the globe were temporary—special cases, rather than the rule for the post-Cold War world. We now know better. Yet instead of adding to the military's ranks, we have been treating the reserves and National Guard as though they were active duty forces. This can't last. Those folks signed up to defend the homeland and help out in national emergencies; they didn't sign up to be global soldiers, on call 24/7.

America cannot exercise global leadership on the cheap. The United States is blessed with unprecedented power, rich allies in every corner of the world, and political principles that appeal to the universal desire for freedom. But these goods are not self-perpetuating, they are the fruits of success in war. The Bush Doctrine will eventually ring hollow unless it is backed by renewed military strength. The administration needs to start putting its money where the president's mouth is. ♦

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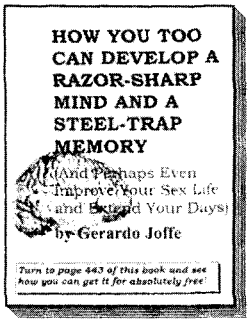

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Don't Appease the United Nations

We're better off going it alone.

BY ARNOLD BEICHMAN

"VERY WELL, ALONE"

David Low's June 18, 1940, cartoon, courtesy of The Political Cartoon Society, on exhibit in Westminster Hall.

FROM THE FALL OF FRANCE and the retreat from Dunkirk in June 1940 until America was attacked at Pearl Harbor, England fought alone against the most formidable military machine in the world. Germany had also invaded its one-time ally the Soviet Union in June 1941, but that battle did little to diminish the power of the Luftwaffe, which rained destruction over Britain night after night. Continental Europe was in Nazi hands and couldn't help. Britain fought for its survival alone for 17 months. And won.

Today, as the United States prosecutes the war on terror, it finds itself like Britain six decades ago: with few reliable allies. The Europeans are ambivalent about this war. The United Nations is often hostile. Indeed, defending democracy and human rights against the world's terrorist thugs is something the U.N. actively interferes with doing.

Well, so be it. We're often told that America can't "go it alone," but that's preposterous. America is almost infinitely stronger than Britain was six decades ago. If our core values are at stake, then of course we can shoulder the burden of defending them alone.

The degradation of the U.N. is symbolized by the nose-thumbing action of the majority ensconced in the U.N. Commission on Human Rights. This is the same group that booted the United States last year in a fit of pique. Whom have they now seen fit to add to the commission? Zimbabwe, whose dictator Robert Mugabe has violated about every principle that the commission presumably stands for. And against the power of the anti-democratic U.N. majority, a parliamentary trick had to be exploited by the West in order to return the United States to membership on this commission. It is an obscenity that this commission includes such human rights violators as Cuba, China, Libya, Saudi Arabia, and Sudan, whose genocidal race and religious war against that country's Christians goes bloodily on without demur from the CHR.

In other words the CHR is one of several U.N. institutions where the criminals sit in judgment on themselves, exploiting the democratic idea of majority voting, a practice banned in their own countries, to absolve themselves of crimes against their own people. Mugabe fixes his own reelection, arrests his election opponent, suppresses press freedom, encourages lynchings and seizure of private property, so Zimbabwe is elected a member of the Commission on Human Rights. With members like these, whom does the U.N. investigate? Well, Israel mostly. And Australia, for alleged mistreatment of refugees and aborigines. And Canada, for allegedly practicing "torture" and mistreatment of minorities.

This week, just after another suicide bombing had killed 15 near Tel Aviv, the U.N. General Assembly voted 74-4 to condemn Israel for its lack of cooperation with that body. This vote is of a piece with the U.N.'s usual double standard: one that indicts democracies and another that exculpates the anti-democracies.

Like its other moral inversions, the U.N.'s challenge to Israel's right to exist as a nation is also a challenge by the U.N. majority to the United States and its goal of spreading freedom and respect for human rights worldwide. This challenge will only grow if we fail to confront the anti-democratic bloc that now runs the United Nations.

When the U.N. came into existence in 1945, there were 51 members. Today there are 189, all of them blessed by the U.N. Charter, which

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states that "the organization is based on the sovereign equality of all Members" and that membership "is open to all peace-loving states which accept the obligations contained in the present Charter and in the judgment of the Organization are able and willing to carry out these obligations." What this sovereign equality means is that the votes of Burundi, Cuba, Fiji, Haiti, Palau, and Somalia equal the votes of the United States or Japan or Germany. And Zimbabwe and China get to sit in judgment on violations of human rights in Canada and Australia, all in the name of equality.

The alternative to going it alone is appeasement. When Zimbabwe can be elected to the U.N. Commission on Human Rights and the West swallows it meekly, that's appeasement. In 1940 and 1941, Britain fought alone against great odds and won. Our fight is not only against worldwide terrorism but also with those who cheer, encourage, and even legitimize the terrorists. And all these cheerleaders of terror sit in the U.N., an "organization [that] is based on the sovereign equality of all Members." Winston Churchill knew what to do. ♦

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The Most Evil Part of the Axis

How to deal with North Korea.

BY ELI J. LAKE

THE DAY THE WHITE HOUSE announced it would resume talks with "axis of evil" charter member North Korea, the president's administrator for the U.S. Agency for International Development told an audience of policymakers and journalists in Washington just how evil that regime really is.

Even as Andrew Natsios, the author of a new book on the North Korean famine, was explaining how the Democratic People's Republic of Korea had systematically starved hundreds of thousands of its citizens between 1995 and 1999, White House spokesman Ari Fleischer issued the following statement: "The Permanent Mission of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea (DPRK) to the United Nations has informed the State Department that the DPRK is prepared to begin talks with the United States. The United States will work to determine the timing and other details in the coming days."

Natsios, who was careful to stipulate that he was not speaking for the administration, recounted how in the face of the famine the Hermit Kingdom denied food to the entire northeast region of the country, to workers in unproductive mines and factories, and to any North Korean who moved from the place their ration card had been issued.

"They killed those people not because they did not like them, but because they were irrelevant," Natsios told a gathering at the Woodrow Wilson Center in Washington. As he recounts in *The Great North Korean Famine* (United States Institute of Peace), allotments of corn were halved for farmers in 1996, creating a breakdown in the country's food distribution network. The North Korean farmers he interviewed told Natsios, "Once they did that, it was very clear, we had to steal all the food in the collective or we ourselves would starve." Eventually the government had to dispatch soldiers to guard the cornfields, and later soldiers to guard those guards, Natsios said, to keep the army from succumbing to bribes from farmers.

In the weeks ahead, the Bush administration will send Charles Pritchard, the U.S. special envoy to North Korea, to begin talks on missile sales, nuclear weapons inspections, and the estimated 700,000 troops Pyongyang has massed near the border with its southern neighbor.

This week Defense Secretary Donald Rumsfeld, Vice President Richard Cheney, National Security Adviser Condoleezza Rice, and Deputy Secretary of State Richard Armitage are scheduled to hash out what tack Pritchard should take with his interlocutors in Pyongyang. Like most of the internal foreign policy debates over the axis of evil, this one divides the administration's neoconservatives from its Clintonistas.

In the latter camp, the National Security Council's Asia directorate and the State Department's Korea desk favor giving Pritchard flexibility to pare down the president's comprehensive policy agenda for the Hermit Kingdom and concentrate on a single issue.

Administration officials call this

Eli J. Lake covers the State Department for United Press International.

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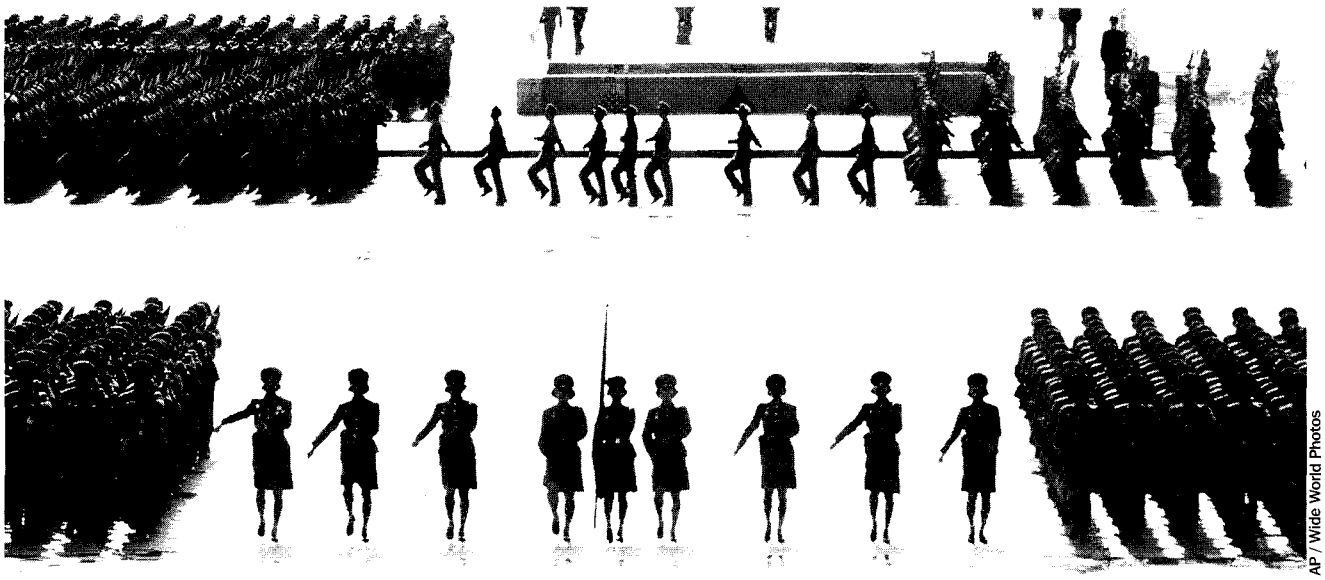

AP / Wide World Photos

North Korean soldiers parade in Pyongyang, April 25, 2002.

"sequencing"—negotiating separately on the several aims the president has set out. These aims are to shrink North Korea's conventional military forces; give the International Atomic Energy Agency the unfettered access it needs to inspect North Korean nuclear power sites; end North Korean sales of missiles and related technology; and accelerate peace talks between the north and south.

On the other side of the debate, the Office of the Vice President and the Pentagon want negotiations to focus on what one administration official calls "issues central to the nature of the regime." This would mean pressing the North Koreans to lift the secrecy that shrouds their unconventional military programs and asking for transparency in the distribution of international food aid to hungry people.

This faction also seeks to avoid succumbing to diplomatic blackmail. "The hard-line approach is that you don't reward North Korea for not engaging in behavior they should not have done in the first place," the official said.

This means, first, refraining from any up-front concessions in response to North Korea's ending its robust trade in missile technology with Iran, Libya, Syria, and Egypt. The CIA and the Defense Intelligence Agency estimate Kim Jong Il's regime pockets $1 billion annually from selling missiles abroad, and the State Department's Bureau of Intelligence and Research puts the figure slightly lower. Compare that with the $520 million the country earns annually from the export of minerals, metallurgical products, conventional armaments, and agricultural and fishery products.

While President Clinton's secretary of state, Madeleine Albright, never proposed reimbursing the North Koreans for forgone missile exports, she did offer them a tantalizing carrot. In an interview last week, Ambassador Wendy Sherman, the State Department's counselor who spent hours in negotiations with Kim Jong Il during an October 2000 visit to Pyongyang with Albright, described the outlines of the deal that nearly materialized back then: If the North Koreans stopped developing, deploying, and exporting missiles, we would help them obtain a satellite—as she put it, "We would discuss the possibility of helping coordinate the launching of non-strategic, non-military satellites on non-DPRK boosters under appropriate transfer-of-technology controls."

The missiles-for-satellites deal is exactly the kind of thing the president's hawks want to avoid—especially at a time when the U.S. government has information to suggest that North Korea is developing a clandestine nuclear weapons program notwithstanding the agreement it signed in 1994 with the United States pledging to forgo this activity. The CIA's latest unclassified report on the acquisition of technology for weapons of mass destruction says, "We assess that North Korea has produced enough plutonium for at least one, and possibly two, nuclear weapons."

In a speech at the Heritage Foundation on May 6, Under Secretary of State for Arms Control and International Security John Bolton said that the North Koreans are also developing chemical and biological weapons. "Despite the fact that its citizens are starving, the leadership in Pyongyang has spent large sums of money to acquire the resources, including a biotechnology infrastructure, capable of producing infectious agents, toxins, and other crude biological weapons," he said.

Whether Charles Pritchard will be authorized to allow North Korea to parlay these programs into diplomatic and financial benefits from Washington depends on the outcome of the Bush administration's internal deliberations this week. Lest the special envoy lose sight of the true nature of the regime he is going to encounter, a copy of Andrew Natsios's book might be just the thing to read on the plane to Pyongyang. ♦

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America's Ascendancy, Europe's Despondency

Why we horrify them, and they exasperate us.

By James W. Ceaser

On his trip to Europe next week, President Bush will encounter more discontent among our allies than at any time in recent memory. A gulf is opening between our two continents, and the reasons are not just temporary or political. Deep-seated trends in Europe, quite apart from President Bush's particular policies, all point to a growing ambivalence about America and its position in the world.

The first cause of this ambivalence is American ascendancy. It sometimes seems that the only thing Europeans fear more than American failure is American success. American setbacks may endanger Europe's security and economic well-being, but American victories injure Europeans' pride, forcing the painful acknowledgement that the great issues of world politics pass through Washington, not Paris, Berlin, or Brussels.

This ambivalence about America has been on display in every major crisis of recent times. In the later stages of the Cold War, American failure would have left Europe divided and threatened with Soviet domination; but American success deprived Europe of its role as mediator between the superpowers and transformed Berlin from the focal point of a worldwide confrontation into a tourist mecca. In the Gulf War, failure would have subjected Europe to Iraqi blackmail over oil; victory made U.S. conventional military power the envy of the world. In the Balkans, failure would have left a seething cauldron of nationalisms on Europe's southern flank and a huge refugee crisis; success confirmed the need for American intervention even to defuse security problems in Europe's backyard. In Afghanistan, failure would have left Europe more vulnerable to terrorism; success has fanned fears that America is an empire beyond all restraint.

Our friends' ambivalence, of course, is not to be confused with outright anti-Americanism. Still, beyond a certain point, ambivalence lends credibility to anti-Americanism. This clearly is the situation today, where European diplomats express an increasingly alarmist view of American intentions. Inevitably, too, this attitude provokes in response a crude American Euro-bashing, now some commentators' sport of choice. It consists of selecting a nation whose critics are vocal and intelligent (usually France), finding an over-the-top comment by one of its intellectuals or politicians (not hard to do), then ascribing perfidy to our "allies," with the term in quotes as if to call Europeans' solidarity into doubt.

Cooler heads deplore all these excesses. America, pleads the Kennedy School's Joseph Nye, "can't go it alone." But it is equally true that his prudent admonishment should not lead us to bend at every accusation of arrogance as the price of Europeans' support. It is necessary first to understand the sources of European ambivalence, so that we can respond intelligently.

In discussing American ascendancy, European analysts speak variously of the American "hegemon" or the "imperium" or the "hyperpower." Such terms are supposedly neutral or descriptive, but they can also carry a polemical edge. When asked to explain his labeling of America as a "hyperpower," French foreign minister Hubert Védrine observed that the term "was not a criticism but a fact." He then went on: "The United States is not the sole country convinced of being endowed with a universal mission, but it is the only one that has the means for doing so and that considers itself entirely legitimate in carrying out this role." One does not know whether to be flattered or insulted.

Europeans' responses to the specter of imperium have been of two sorts: Either the imperium should be checked and diminished, or it should be embraced, with efforts made to manage and control it. One way to achieve the first objective would be for Europeans to form a counterweight capable of dealing with the United States on terms of greater equality, which would require building a

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significant European military capability. Some have just this goal in mind for the European Union, though so far political leaders have much preferred to talk about it rather than pay the price to realize it. Why, after all, spend so much for so little practical gain? For now, a European military superpower seems a long way off.

Another way to check America is to demand that it renounce imperial designs and behave more like a nation among other nations. But no sooner is this remedy proposed than it runs into the obvious difficulty that even when America pursues "just" its national interest, it ends up, because of its size and power, exerting a disproportionate influence. We suffer from the E.F. Hutton problem: When America speaks, people listen.

It has reasonably been suggested that in certain nonstrategic areas—say, the marketing of culture, from movies to fast food—America should exercise self-restraint in order to foster a diverse world in which sensible particularities are respected. Yet here, oddly enough, it is Europeans (and their American Amen corner) who often fail to practice what they preach. They seek their own European hegemony, not plurality.

Thus, while few Americans are disturbed by Europeans' lavish welfare states, many Europeans take offense at America's "capitalist" system. It troubles few Americans that Europe has abandoned capital punishment, but it is deeply dismaying to many Europeans that we retain it. In the name of "multilateralism," Americans like Joseph Nye demand that we follow European standards as the way to maintain our leadership: "Our soft power," writes Nye, "is eroded more by issues such as capital punishment and gun control, where we are deviants in opinion among advanced countries, than by the cultural changes we share with others." But following Europe's lead, while it may suit the partisans of "progressive" measures in this instance, is hardly a reliable guide for American policy. Only recently many Europeans, and their American followers, were also expressing concern at the rise of religious faith in America.

For the most part, however, Europeans have resigned themselves to America's imperium. Their objective, they say, is to keep it benign. The American imperium in this view is a world institution, and accordingly it must serve the world's interests, not just America's. Europeans obviously have a profound stake in this outcome, all the more in that they are not passive observers but participants as allies. Americans who listen too much to some of their own overenthusiastic commentators all too readily forget that Allied troops are today in Afghanistan, where they daily face substantial risk. Europeans naturally feel slighted when they do not receive recognition, or when commentators and some government officials treat NATO as if it were just one "coalition" among many, to be ordered up à la carte as the situation warrants. The Allied view is that there is one permanent coalition that counts—NATO—which should be supplemented by secondary coalitions. But while this conception of affairs properly applies to the European theater, the rest of the world is different. Sometimes—as in Afghanistan, where the United States has assembled partners including some outside or at the fringes of Europe, such as Pakistan, Russia, and Uzbekistan—non-NATO nations may play an important role in a global strategy.

A recurring question has been how much European views should influence American thinking when the two are at odds. No magical formula can supply the answer. These are matters to be determined case by case, in the light of traditional practices of consultation and long-standing institutional arrangements. Ideally, important allies would have a way to make themselves heard by Congress, but only Tony Blair seems to have figured out how to do that. The real difficulty, however, is not that European views go unheard—the *New York Times* and Harvard intellectuals make sure that doesn't happen—but that debates are conducted with an enormous amount of bad faith. Ideas that are at odds with European thinking are often presented by Europeans, and by Americans who share their views, as being isolationist or as serving a purely American interest. What they often represent, however, is a different judgment of how best to serve the "imperium's" general interest.

Whatever one thinks of the merits of missile defense, for example, it is not a policy of American withdrawal from the world—a plan to hide behind a shield so that Florence is destroyed while Los Angeles is saved—but a strategy to allow America to perform its international role more effectively in the face of certain kinds of threats. By the same token, the policy of "regime change" being advocated for Iraq is designed to advance not a purely American interest, but a world freer of threats to civilized nations. European disagreement with such policies needs to be weighed, but the claim that they will cost the United States its good standing in the world—diminish its "soft power"—should not be regarded as dispositive.

European ambivalence about America has a deeper cause, however, than differing judgments about policy. It is rooted in Europe's and America's different views of the source of "agency" in world politics. For centuries it was recognized that the primary actor in international affairs was the nation-state, aided at the fringes by semi-permanent alliances and international organizations. But this view is no longer dominant in

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Europe. For the past few decades, Europe has been engaged in the process of dismantling the nation-state and denationalizing political life. Before the European Union can be "constructed" (whatever it may ultimately prove to be), not only existing nation-states, but also the idea of the nation-state itself, must be called into question. This project is domestic, but it also profoundly affects Europeans' outlook on international affairs. If the nation-state is no longer the relevant unit of organization for domestic political life, then what is its legitimate status in the international arena?

There is a great paradox here. Europe was the cradle of the modern state, which grew up between the sixteenth and the nineteenth centuries. And Europe spread the state system to the world. Other modes of organization of political life have existed or been contemplated, such as the tribe, the city-state, the empire, and the world state. The European nation-state system, as Pierre Manent has argued, was heir to the ancient city-state system perfected in Greece, then swept aside by the emergence of the empires. The nation-state had the advantage of being a unit large enough for reasonable self-sufficiency, yet conducive to a meaningful political life. Organized around the principle of balance of power, the state system in Europe provided sufficient security for each of the members most of the time, while allowing for the humane development of European civilization as a whole.

In the rest of the world, this European export was either imposed or adopted—often more in name than in fact. Under the label of "states" were to be found landed empires (like the Soviet Union and China), countries whose inhabitants yearned to be part of a larger nation (like the states of the Arab world), and geographical entities within which tribes or clans (often spilling over into other states, as in Afghanistan and many parts of Africa) offered people their primary political affiliation. Still, the state became the universal norm, and each state had its boundaries, its flag, its sovereignty, and eventually its seat in the United Nations General Assembly.

In the judgment of advanced Europeans today, the nation-state system has proven an abject failure, at least for Europe. The world wars of the last century brought Europe to the brink of devastation and reduced it from the pinnacle of world power to a secondary position. In the wake of this disaster, Germany, afraid of its own nationalism, sought protection from itself in a larger

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political grouping. France saw in a new arrangement a way of expanding its influence over the whole continent. Britain is, well, still trying to decide what to do. The European project has been further fueled by the recognition that none of the participating states any longer has the capacity to be the premier world power. The nation-state has accordingly lost much of its appeal in the heart of the continent. It is chiefly nations that have achieved independence only recently, such as Poland and Croatia, that still regard the nation-state as a desirable arrangement. Advanced Europeans make clear that this form will be left behind as these nations attain a higher stage of development and are integrated into Europe.

America's experience with the nation-state could hardly have been more different. The nation-state has not failed Americans—indeed, it hasn't occurred to the average citizen that its status could be doubted. Americans turn instinctively to the nation for security, and they regard it as a permanent locus of meaningful political life. This difference in perspective is fundamental and leads inevitably to different ways of responding to the world. Europeans consider American displays of nationalism, in which we indulge without embarrassment or apology, anachronistic. In Europe such sentiments have been pushed to the margins of political life, where they now assume the form—partly for want of any healthy outlet—of extreme nationalistic and xenophobic parties. Polite Europeans increasingly equate American patriotism with these crude sentiments. Meanwhile, some Americans view Europe's postnational, postmodern ideas as expressing the dispiritedness of countries no longer up to dealing with the harsher realities of world politics.

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Europe has long been an exporter of ideas. Its thinkers are used to regarding Europe as the center of the world, and therefore usually fail to notice that from a global perspective, what is taking place in Europe is of parochial significance. Instead, most European theorists and their American followers have sought to universalize the European experience. They speak of the death of the nation-state and the movement to some new form of international organization as if it were a sure thing. The common assumption that Europeans deplore and seek to restrict "globalization" may be apt when that term is equated with Americanization. But Europeans have been the silent partisans of globalization in the realm of security, where they have sought to combine the protection offered by international alliances with low defense spending for themselves. Yet for all the talk, it remains unclear what will take the place of the state system.

For a moment after the collapse of communism—which occurred, miraculously, without overt use of force—some thought they saw the answer: Major war was a thing of the past, and the few, limited security threats that remained, such as outbreaks of nationalism or tribal warfare, could be handled by international peacekeeping operations under the United Nations. This internationalization of security would be supplemented by various international courts, all situated in Europe, which would resolve conflicts using evolving norms of international law. (The International Criminal Court, which President Bush only last week declined to recognize, is just one example.) When the United Nations proved inadequate or unavailable in the Balkan crisis, a new security regime operating under NATO was brought in to do the job, keeping American force under alliance control. Above all, the assumption was that mobilization for war must not rest on any national principle. No distinction was made between a perverted nationalism, as seen in Serbia, and a reasonable expression of the national idea.

All of this amounted to a shell game whose purpose was to conceal the principal actor—the United States. But no such immaculate deception can camouflage the more robust uses of force undertaken or contemplated since September 11. In the 1990s, American diplomacy often went along with European views, even though it was clear that rivalries among states—including superstates such as China—would continue to pose the traditional problems of international politics. Plainly, too, some security issues of particular interest to the United States, like Israel and Taiwan, didn't fit the new internationalist paradigm.

Now, the United States has undertaken a war against terrorism, and Americans have mobilized largely on a national basis. Our allies cannot have expected otherwise, and they can offer no real alternative. They have every right to insist that this American national engagement be enlightened and mindful of the "imperial" responsibilities of the United States; also that their moral support and material contributions be properly valued. But they have neither the right nor the ability to prevent the United States from acting in defense of its national ideal. ♦

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A Nation Like Ours

Why Americans stand with Israel.

By David Gelernter

A philosopher's job is to show you what you would otherwise miss because it is right in front of your nose, too close to focus on. In one of Mel Brooks's worst, funniest movies, he played a "stand-up philosopher," and we could use some stand-up philosophy right now.

Have you ever wondered (a stand-up philosopher might ask) why so many Americans feel an instinctive sympathy for Israel that Europeans can't understand? According to such noted experts on U.S. culture as Bishop Desmond Tutu and certain leading French statesmen, this sympathy merely goes to show the power of American Jews in U.S. politics. It's hard to tell whether the bishop and the French elite are against Jews, or merely against Jews' having opinions. In any case, a stand-up philosopher would suggest that they drop it and look at a history book instead. Find out where the United States came from; then look up Israel. It's never too late for world leaders to learn the facts of life. Jews *are* powerful and influential in this country. But if no Jew had ever set foot in America, the United States and Israel would tend to understand each other nonetheless—because they are two of a kind.

Both are pick-up nations created out of ideas, with populations drawn from all over the globe; they are self-made nations in a world where most nations had nationhood handed to them on a silver platter. A Frenchman or Japanese is so far removed from nation-building that he no longer has any moral stake in it; the energy and struggle that created France or Japan are none of his business. He washes his hands of them. Americans and Israelis still remember that nations do not create themselves.

Proto-Americans arrived here and proto-Israelis over there uninvited, from Europe, and set about making homes for themselves in the large empty spaces between indigenous settlements. They were small minorities at first, far from home and (in many cases) in strikingly unworldly frames of mind. Europeans can't conceive of creating a nation in such a manner.

The indigenous Indians and Palestinians confronted America and Israel with roughly similar moral problems from the start. But American and Israeli settlers *had* to leave Europe; they felt the pressure at their backs. And once they arrived in their new lands, everywhere they looked they saw empty space, and so they naively assumed that there would be room for everybody. In the years immediately after the First World War, Martin Gilbert writes,

> less than 10 percent of the land area of Palestine was under cultivation. The rest, whether stony or fertile, was uncultivated. No Arab cultivator need be dispossessed for the Zionists to make substantial land purchases. The potential of the land, on which fewer than a million people were living on both sides of the Jordan, was regarded as enormous.

Why does the United States belong to Americans? Because we built it. We conceived the idea and put it into practice bit by bit. Why does Israel belong to Israelis? True, Jews have lived there in unbroken succession since the Romans destroyed the Second Temple in the year 70. True, Jews were hounded out of their homes in Europe and the Arab Middle East, had nowhere else to go, and demanded the right to live. But ultimately, the land of Israel belongs to Israelis for the same reason America belongs to Americans: Because Israelis conceived and built it—and what you create is yours.

If you want a homeland, you must create one. You drain swamps, lay out farms, build houses, schools, roads, hospitals, playgrounds, movie theaters, office parks (and don't forget the discount souvenir shops). That's how America got its homeland, and that is why Israel belongs to the Israelis.

American settlers (the tragic fact is) committed gross crimes against American Indians. We don't lessen the significance of those crimes by noting that Indians committed crimes against the settlers too, and crimes against other Indians. The United States has long since acknowledged and deeply (even bitterly) regretted its own crimes. No killing or exiling of Indians would have been necessary for the settlers to realize their goal, as they laid it out in a ballad in colonial Virginia: "We hope to plant a nation, where none before hath stood."

Israeli settlers had similar goals. In 1937, a British government commission called on Winston Churchill to address the future of Palestine; would it not be "harsh

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injustice" to the Arabs, he was asked, if Jews were allowed to enter Palestine at will, become a majority and eventually set up a Jewish state? "Why is there harsh injustice done," Churchill answered, "if people come in and make a livelihood for more, and make the desert into palm groves and orange groves? Why is it injustice because there is more work and wealth for everybody? There is no injustice. The injustice is when those who live in the country leave it to be desert for thousands of years."

No analogy between Palestinians and American Indians will fly. The differences are too deep. But in other ways there are remarkable similarities between proto-Israeli and proto-American settlers, especially New Englanders.

In pre-1917 Ottoman-ruled Palestine, as in colonial New England, settlers from Europe built villages in a harsh, beautiful countryside where they had come to be free. Both communities were saturated with Scripture. Both had faith in the redemptive sanctity of labor on the land—the Jews (if anything) even more than the New Englanders, although the New Englanders were probably greater believers in Israel's God. Both communities relied on universal military training for self-defense. Both were dedicated to education, and determined to found universities. The same Hebrew names rushed like brook-water through both societies. Both had a moral seriousness that was fundamentally alien to modern Europe.

They started out with roughly the same peaceful intentions towards the indigenous inhabitants. (Of course in Palestine, some of the indigenous inhabitants were Jews.) In the mid-1600s, William Bradford described the Pilgrims' treaty with the Indians, "which has now continued this twenty-four years." It was based on scrupulous reciprocity and mutual friendship. In the years before the First World War, A.D. Gordon wrote that Jewish settlers must have the "moral courage" to approach the Arabs humanely, "even if the other side is not all that is desired. Indeed, their hostility is all the more reason for our humanity."

In settling America, proto-Americans were venturing forth; proto-Israelis were returning home. Yet the Bible insists that Jews were not the aboriginal inhabitants of the land of Israel. (The Hebrew Bible, with its guileless, tactless, relentless honesty, is the same sort of PR disaster that modern Israel has become.) "God said to Abraham: Venture forth from your land, and from your birthplace, and from your father's house, to the land that I will show you" (Genesis 12:1). New England settlers took this commandment personally. Before the Puritans departed Southampton for America in 1630, the Reverend John Cotton preached them a sermon on II Samuel 7:10—"Moreover I will appoint a place for my people Israel, and I will plant them, that they may dwell in a place of their own and move no more."

Of course, the Jews had to buy the land on which they settled. The Arabs and Turks were hardly likely to give it away, to Jews least of all. At times, the Turks were hard put to see the point of Jews altogether; at Passover 1917, all Jews were expelled from Jaffa and Jerusalem. The Jewish National Fund was established to collect money for land purchases in Palestine. The Rothschilds were definitely a help, but Jews all over the world chipped in. The JNF's sky-blue collection-boxes became fixtures wherever Jews lived. They still are.

As the Jewish settlement grew, Jews repeatedly made clear their willingness to share the land with Arabs. After the First World War, Turkish Palestine became the British Mandate. In 1947, the U.N. proposed to partition British Palestine into a Jewish state plus a new Arab state—an Arab Palestine. The U.N.'s finicky, snaking-around partition line created an Israel within which Jews were the majority, but left more than 100,000 Jews out in the cold—Jews who lived in Jerusalem, which was supposed to be internationalized, or in lands assigned to the Arabs. For the Jews this wasn't much of a state, and its borders were laughably indefensible. But they accepted the plan, joyfully. They danced in the streets. Thus Israel's founders and the Israeli people publicly and explicitly endorsed the idea of Jewish and Arab Palestines side by side.

The Arab response had the virtue of simplicity. No one has ever had any trouble understanding "Kill the Jews." Egypt, Lebanon, Syria, Jordan, Iraq, and Saudi Arabia attacked the Jewish State at birth. "Pretty soon," the Syrian prime minister is said to have notified a British diplomat, "the Arab armies will teach the Jews a lesson they will never forget." This they did. The Jews never have forgotten, and never will. The Arabs fought savagely—if you were wounded, better die than fall into their hands—and when the war was over, some one percent of the Jewish population was dead. But the Jews had not been thrown into the sea. They had fought their way outward to the "1967 borders."

In 2000 Prime Minister Ehud Barak agreed, once again: two states, side by side. The Arab response was a fresh wave of murder and mayhem.

America pushed its borders out deliberately. Israel won new territory in wars provoked by its enemies. In both cases, newly accessible lands were irresistible to a certain segment of the population.

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Israeli settlers are not all alike. Some set out for the territories because of patriotism—to strengthen Israeli security (which, Lord knows, needed strengthening). Some set out to find cheaper, wider-open living spaces. Some set out in obedience to God's will—or, as Americans used to call it, "manifest destiny." Nowadays, enlightened people find the very idea of America's "manifest destiny" too ludicrous even to sneer at. But a stand-up philosopher might ask: What would a nation have to do to prove this absurd thesis, that its emergence represented "God's will"? Perhaps save the world from Nazi and Japanese tyranny, defeat Soviet communism, and serve as an inspiration to freedom-loving peoples everywhere? Would that be a start? Reasonable people will differ about what it all means—but if there were more philosophers on the scene, we would be less apt to reject ideas without thinking about them.

Today it is no accident that America and Israel tend to understand each other—even to empathize with one another—not invariably, but on the whole. To see why, you don't have to be Bishop Tutu or some eminent Frenchman resurrecting tired but ever-popular Nazi theories about the satanically persuasive Jew. There is an easier explanation. The founding settlers of America and of modern Israel were offered victimhood on easy terms, and turned it down cold. They chose to create new nations out of nothing instead.

When Menachem Ussishkin addressed the Paris Peace Conference as a Zionist delegate in 1919, Jews had ample grounds for self-pity. They were more than entitled to all they wanted. The Russian civil war was under way, and "Russian Jewry," Ussishkin noted, "is undergoing fresh torrents of murder and rioting." But he rejected victimhood. He did not want to be rescued; he only wanted Jews to be allowed to rescue themselves.

What we want, he said, is to "renew our own lives and revive the national and cultural tradition which has come down to us from ancient times." David Ben-Gurion, later Israel's first prime minister, welcomed British support for Jewish settlement in Palestine—but the Jewish people *themselves*, he said, "only they, with body and soul, with their strength and capital, must build their National Home and bring about their national redemption." To Bishop Tutu and the French establishment, such sentiments are no doubt mysterious. But Americans understand them. They share them. They have lived them, as Israel is living them today. ♦

Michael Ramirez

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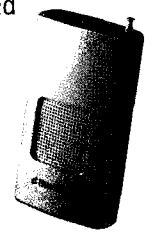

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Dostoevsky's Demons

Joseph Frank finishes his biographical masterpiece

By René Girard

Bettmann / CORBIS

For more than twenty-five years, Joseph Frank has been writing the biography of Fyodor Dostoevsky. In 1976, he published *Seeds of Revolt, 1821-1849*, followed by *The Years of Ordeal, 1850-1859*, *The Stir of Liberation, 1860-1865*, and *The Miraculous Years, 1865-1871*.

Now, at last, we have the fifth and final volume—*The Mantle of the Prophet, 1871-1881*—and it is the richest of Frank's monumental work, its 812 pages covering the last decade of Dostoevsky's life. All of Frank's volumes contain analyses of Dostoevsky's novels original enough to interest the knowledgeable, yet lucid enough to help those unable to distinguish, say, Alexander Ivanovich from Ivan Alexandrovich.

But it is, above all, the profound social and personal history that makes Frank's volumes stand above other studies of the great Russian novelist. Because of Dostoevsky's increase in fame before his death—indeed, because of his prestige with *both* the revolutionary youth and the imperial court—the story of the novelist's life in these years expands into a social, cultural, and even political history of Russia at a crucial point in the disintegration of the old tsarist order.

In *The Mantle of the Prophet*, as in *The Miraculous Years*, Dostoevsky's second wife, Anna Grigoryevna, plays a central role. She is our main source of knowledge for the last twenty years of the novelist's life and the most important person in that life. Her role has often been minimized by scholars. The problem is that she seems to have been sensible and efficient enough to make her husband happy in an almost bourgeois sense of the word—which is, naturally, horrifying to those committed to a vision of Dostoevsky as "the mad Russian mystic."

Dostoevsky
The Mantle of the Prophet, 1871-1881
by Joseph Frank
Princeton University Press, 812 pp., $35

The story of Anna Grigoryevna is a remarkable one. Against her family's advice, she decided, at age twenty-two, to marry a forty-two-year-old convict who was also an epileptic, a pathological gambler, and the odd man of Russian literature. She entered his life as an efficient stenographer, and she continued in this role until his death, quickly becoming his financial manager and protector against his greedy relatives. She never reproached him about his gambling, it seems, but, within a few years, he suddenly ceased to gamble. She certainly brought about that change, but not even Joseph Frank seems to know how.

Above all, Anna was a mother and a wife. She was as solid and real as Dostoevsky's first wife was fragile and fake. She was the greatest blessing in his life, even when, at the beginning of their marriage, her husband lost their last, painfully borrowed ruble at the roulette table. (The lender of last resort was Anna's own mother, who was far from rich.) Joseph Frank is too conscientious

René Girard is the author of such books as Deceit, Desire, & the Novel, Violence and the Sacred, The Scapegoat, *and, most recently,* I See Satan Fall like Lightning.

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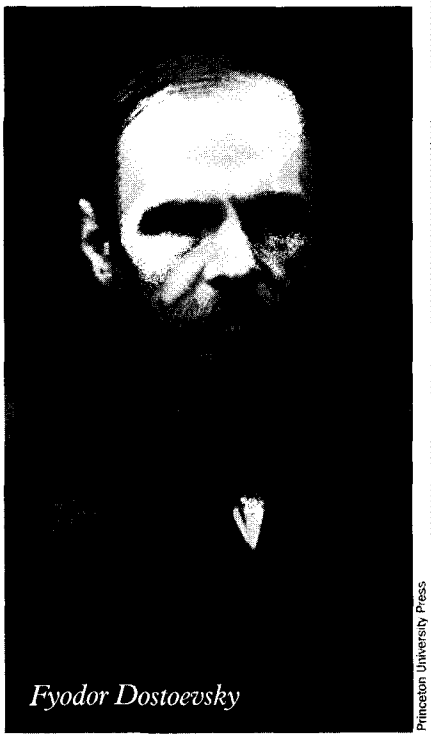
a biographer to lapse into hagiography. He does not hide, for example, Anna's tendency to make both her husband and herself look better than they were. But Frank's uncompromising honesty ends up making Anna seem almost heroic. There was great suffering in her marriage, no doubt, especially the death of children, but there was more happiness.

The most stubborn myth about Dostoevsky is his "sexual abnormality," a thesis countersigned by Sigmund Freud himself. In the course of his five-volume biography, however, Joseph Frank quietly demolishes it. This myth has two origins. The first is the famous Stavrogin confession about the rape of a little girl in *Demons* (the 1872 novel sometimes translated under the title *The Devils* or *The Possessed*), which readers who dislike Dostoevsky tend to regard as his vicarious confession. And the second is Freud's essay "Dostoevsky and Parricide," which is more *against* its subject than *about* him. What horrifies Freud is Dostoevsky's political ideas and, above all, his apparent anti-Semitism.

One can share Freud's sentiments without sharing Freud's certainty that bad political ideas mean a bad sex life. Building upon the dubious Freudian foundation of Dostoevsky's "latent homosexuality," many critics have assumed that he was not really interested in his wife. The sole reason he married Anna, so the story goes, was his need for the "sister of charity" that he shrewdly detected in her, and he cynically exploited the poor girl in his own selfish interest. She is thus, in most studies of Dostoevsky, mainly an object of rather distant commiseration: "the obviously sexually unfulfilled Anna Grigoryevna."

No one, it seems, bothered with the original sources before Joseph Frank—who has come up with a letter to Anna mailed from Germany, where his physician had sent the novelist "to take the waters." Dostoevsky does more than politely insist he misses his wife; he mentions an erotic dream he had about her and refers to a prior letter from Anna in which she mentioned "some indecent thoughts" that she had about her husband.

Sexy letters between the Dostoevskys, seven years after their marriage! Who could have imagined it? Frank quotes this precious correspondence without even alluding to the myths crashing to the ground all around him. But it is a massive joke on the postmodern sex police and their hostile profiling of the novelist whose understanding of human motivation in such books as *Notes from Underground*, *The Gambler*, *Demons*, and *The Eternal Husband*—to say nothing of *Crime and Punishment*, *The Idiot*, and *The Brothers Karamazov*—is almost incomprehensibly far beyond their simple and easy explanations.



Fyodor Dostoevsky

Princeton University Press

So what is it that Dostoevsky saw? The novel most immediately relevant to our contemporary scene may be *Demons*, in which he captures the essence of nihilistic eruptions. The Dostoevsky who wrote *Demons* was very different from the young novelist whose first novel, *Poor Folk*, had been praised thirty years before by the famous critic V.G. Belinsky as a model of politically engaged fiction. Belinsky was a romantic liberal, of course, and so was his protégé Dostoevsky: Like most educated Russians, they were ashamed of their country's backwardness, and they looked to Europe for models of westernization, especially England and France.

It's fascinating to observe that in nineteenth-century Russia—just as in France before the Revolution—the aristocrats and the intellectual classes were fashionably estranged from their own religious and cultural traditions (in Russia, this included the Russian language, which was replaced with French even inside the family). In his eagerness to demonstrate that he was a sincere liberal, the young Dostoevsky did so well that he had himself arrested and sentenced to what turned out to be a mock execution, although he didn't know that until the last second. He was sent to Siberia where he spent four years in a penal colony and then four more years in the Russian army. The experience changed Dostoevsky, and he rejected all radical chic to espouse the religious, social, and political attitudes of the so-called slavophiles, the generally despised defenders of Russian tradition. In this Dostoevskian conservatism, however, the influence of the French socialists and their utopian Christianity remains visible.

At first, this great political and spiritual revolution had no noticeable effect on the novelist's fiction, which remained maudlin and sentimental until, in 1864, he published his first masterpiece, *Notes from Underground*. In this short novel, an abominably wretched character—who is also a thoroughly "modern" and "liberated" individual, the prototype of the twentieth-century anti-hero—recounts his grotesque adventures. The underground man spends most of his time alone in his apartment, getting drunk on the idea of his freedom; he sees limitless possibilities ahead and his ambition soars vertiginously. When he rejoins his fellow men, however, his exaltation turns to ashes and he becomes "an acutely conscious mouse" incapable of the great deeds contemplated in his solitary dreams.

This story gives concrete content to Dostoevsky's belief that the abandon-

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ment of Christianity drives modern man into a hell of his own making. Instead of the heavenly self-worship he anticipates, the anti-hero becomes full of self-doubt when he rejoins the world. His uncertainty compels him to enslave himself to those who seem to embody the mastery to which he aspires. The underground man compulsively bows to all those who offend, disdain, and ignore him. The modern attempt at self-worship generates its opposite, self-enslavement.

The underground man forgets his timidity only with people manifestly weaker: a poor prostitute, for instance, who is ready to love him in a disinterested fashion. Instead of joining with her, he sordidly avenges on her pathetic weakness the rebuffs and humiliations suffered at the hands of more intimidating others. The famous "love-hate relationship" in Dostoevsky is the foremost underground passion, a form of envy so extreme that it turns to idolatry. The social and political significance of the story is underlined by its setting in St. Petersburg, the new city built by Peter the Great, the tsar who tried to westernize Russia. The anti-hero is one of his thousands of civil servants who compete for insignificant rewards, fantastically magnified by the rivalrous equality of all.

In *Notes from Underground*, the word "underground" refers to the hero's need to hide his own shame and return to his solitary dreams when his morbid fascination with others becomes too grotesque. In later writing, the word acquired for the novelist a quasi-technical significance. It refers to all modalities of the compulsive idolatry that Dostoevsky kept portraying—in his attempt to dissuade Russia from listening to the siren songs of modernization and westernization.

The two main idols of that modern, godless universe are money and sex. After *Notes from Underground*, Dostoevsky dealt with money in *The Gambler* (1866) and sex in *The Eternal Husband* (1870), perhaps his most profound book. It is the story of a man driven underground by the infidelity of his wife. The rather ordinary fellow who has cuckolded him turns into an object of hatred and worship combined. Freud was correct in noticing the attraction the wife's lover exerts on the eternal husband, but Freud went on to decide that the author's own unconscious desire was expressing itself in the story—and hence Dostoevsky was a latent homosexual.

Gregor Schmitz CORBIS

Dostoevsky's writing desk, preserved in a museum in St. Petersburg.

The simpler reading is that what the eternal husband wants to learn from his wife's seducer is the secret of seduction. What he desires is not his rival's body—a ridiculous idea, really—but that rival's expertise as a lover. He would like to become an eternal lover himself, rather than an eternal husband and an eternal cuckold. Like all underground people, the eternal husband is modern and liberated, especially in regard to sex. Far from solving his problem, however, this makes it worse. The idolatry of sex is destructive not merely of the old structure of the family but of sex itself. The eternal husband is a victim not of superstition but of obsessive rationality. He sees the seducer of his wife as a sexual expert whose services he tries to enlist.

In Dostoevsky's view, political radicalism is one of many manifestations of the underground—and the worst of them. The radicals suffer from underground symptoms; they perpetually enslave themselves to people whom they would not hate if they did not idolize them, and instead of blaming themselves for this weakness, they project it onto society as a whole. They confuse their own personal underground with a repressive social and political order which may or may not exist objectively. When underground discontent is on the rise, it powerfully influences the community in the direction of laxity. The religious, cultural, ethical, and educational underpinnings of social life weaken and begin to disintegrate. As more and more traditions are discarded, permissiveness increases. Instead of gratefully acknowledging the trend, the politicized underground denies it and sees the opposite trend: more and more oppression and repression that must be countered by more and more violence.

Dostoevsky's *Demons* illustrates this historical process, and the best part of it is the satiric treatment of what Dostoevsky himself was in the 1840s, an idealistic liberal. The character who embodies the type, Stepan Trofimovich Verkhovensky, may be his creator's greatest achievement as a novelist. He is a charming but ineffectual and ultimately superficial old man, full of elegant but totally disembodied French. He's been made passé by brutal events, and he's completely disregarded by the nihilists—so much so that when the police are stupid enough to search his rooms, he feels briefly rejuvenated and proclaims himself "a living reproach" to the motherland.

Dostoevsky's satire does not prevent him from feeling some secret affection for his pathetic character. In the end,

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the novelist makes him the only symbol of redemption in the book. Coming back to his senses on his deathbed, Stepan Trofimovich reproaches himself for helping unleash the plague of nihilism upon Russia, and he converts to his ancestral Christian faith. Far from proving the inferiority of Russia, the underground propensities of the Russians are a sign that spiritual life, even though imperiled, is not yet extinct among them.

The Dostoevskian underground is a powerful notion for understanding our current situation, far more powerful than simply a tool for comprehending the Russians. It is thus a disappointment to see—as Joseph Frank's volume makes clear—that Dostoevsky himself tends to fall into underground symptoms when he moves beyond Russia to examine the simultaneously despised and idolized West. His tremendous mastery of human relations and their significance collapses into a kind of underground chauvinism as soon as he shifts from the national to the international plane.

Still, Dostoevsky was above all the prophet who, half a century before the Bolshevik revolution, warned about the forthcoming catastrophe. And if he embraced some of the narrow nationalism and other prejudices of the slavophiles, it may be in part because the slavophiles were the only Russians who seemed actively sympathetic to him at the time. In spite of his greatness, Dostoevsky was not quite great enough to go it completely alone, intellectually and spiritually.

He died on January 28, 1881, in St. Petersburg, not long after the publication of *The Brothers Karamazov*. It's there we find—in the passage in which Ivan Karamazov tells the legend of Jesus Christ's returning to the world, only to encounter the Grand Inquisitor—Dostoevsky's most famous analysis of modern culture's repudiation of its religious inheritance in favor of Enlightenment philosophy's narcissistic individualism. And it's there in *The Brothers Karamazov* as well that we find—in the unconditional love the dying Zossima wills—Dostoevsky's answer. ♦

Freedom's Virtues

Dinesh D'Souza defends America.

BY LEE BOCKHORN

It becomes necessary, from time to time, to defend America not just against physical attack but also against its intellectual enemies, foreign and domestic—and few are better qualified to provide such a defense than Dinesh D'Souza. He came to America from his native India when he was seventeen years old, and he has an immigrant's appreciation for what the United States represents. He's also logged enough time on the campus lecture circuit to have encountered just about every anti-American fusillade offered by the anti-globalists, multiculturalists, and Eurosnobs.

What's So Great About America
by Dinesh D'Souza
Regnery, 218 pp., $27.95

So now, in *What's So Great About America*, he presents their claims that America is irredeemably tainted by racism, imperialism, and oppression. Each serves as a fat pitch over the middle of the plate, and there's considerable pleasure in watching D'Souza whack them out of the ballpark. Still, readers of his other books—such as *Illiberal Education*, *The End of Racism*, and *The Virtue of Prosperity*—already know these arguments and his responses. So why repeat them in a book that is ostensibly a response to the anti-Americanism of Islamic fundamentalists? His answer is that all these attacks aim at "America's greatest weakness: her lack of moral self-confidence. . . . At the deepest level their assault is moral: they seek to destroy America's belief in herself, knowing that if this happens, America is finished."

D'Souza considers the Islamic fundamentalist critique a more serious threat than the anti-globalization and multiculturalist attacks. When one gets past the "Death to America!" frenzy of the Arab crowds and delves into the thinkers who shaped Islamic fundamentalism, one finds "an intelligent and even profound assault on the very basis of America and the West"—a critique that, "at its best, shows a deep understanding of America's fundamental principles." Its central claim is that Islamic society is superior to the West because it "makes virtue as laid down by the Koran the chief end of government," unlike the West, which makes freedom the chief end of government.

Refuting this challenge will require, as D'Souza wrote recently in these pages, "a full-bodied defense of freedom as understood in the West, as a gift from God and a necessary precondition for true virtue"—and it is up to conservatives to make this defense, since they alone still seem comfortable mentioning God and virtue. But this raises another problem. The Islamic critique is similar to what many conservatives have been saying about America for some time—that, as D'Souza puts it, "the triumph of freedom comes at the expense of decency, community, and virtue."

D'Souza thus addresses *What's So Great About America* to his fellow conservatives as much as to anyone else. They must be able to articulate why the American way of life is superior not only at producing technology or prosperity or democracy, but at producing citizens who use their freedom to pursue virtue. "We have to show [the Muslim world] why our society is a moral improvement on theirs," D'Souza

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writes, "and this is neither an obvious nor an easy task." But at the same time, conservatives cannot simply pretend that the concerns they had about the moral direction of America the day before September 11 are now irrelevant. They must construct a defense of freedom defined as something more profound than, in Salman Rushdie's recent formulation, "short skirts and dancing."

It's an ambitious project, and D'Souza only sketches it here, beginning with a distinction between what he calls the "externally directed" virtue of the Muslim world and the "self-directed" virtue of Americans. True virtue cannot be imposed: A veil worn under duress is no sign of true modesty. The millions of Americans who manage to live morally decent lives amidst the temptations of freedom embody virtue far more than those living under state-imposed *sharia* law. And, he notes, America's success at making prosperity so widespread is a moral triumph, because it frees up time for family life, community involvement, and spiritual pursuits.

D'Souza contrasts the new moral order of Rousseauian "authenticity" and "self-fulfillment" with the classical and Christian moral order of duties that transcend individual desires. But then he tells conservatives that they have, in essence, already lost this fight: Authenticity is here to stay, and we should instead try to bend it to achieve conservative goals.

D'Souza admits that what's so great about America—the freedom of its people to "write the script of their own lives"—is only great when those lives and scripts are directed toward some compelling vision of the good. So how do we convince people to choose the right script?

He suggests we need "education and discussion" to return the question of the goal—the *telos*, the point—of human existence to the forefront of our national discourse. But conservatives have been saying this in one version or another for years now. D'Souza himself has written, for example, in *The Virtue of Prosperity* that a true liberal-arts education steeped in the classics could "supply us with personal horizons of understanding and significance" that we seem to lack in an age of affluence.

What we still need are ideas about how actually to apply our understanding of what such education could do for us if only we had it. Dinesh D'Souza hasn't yet given the solution, but what he has accomplished in *What's So Great About America* is a convincing presentation of the vastness—and the urgency—of the task. ♦

Liberal Education

Give school choice a chance.

BY PETER BERKOWITZ

The debate over school choice presents a puzzling spectacle. On one side are those who favor choice. In response to the longstanding crisis of our inner-city public schools, they favor charter schools (which receive state funds as a result of commitments made in the school's charter) and, far more controversially, cash vouchers from the state to use at participating schools. These supporters stand for innovation, experimentation, and a diversity of approaches. And they are generally thought of as the conservatives.

On the other side are the opponents of school choice. Their response to our failing public schools is to seek to strengthen them, usually by spending more money. These opponents of choice defend the status quo, stand with entrenched interests, especially teachers' unions and big-city school boards, and warn ominously that even small changes to a system that has its roots in the nineteenth century will undermine our shared civic culture. They think of themselves as liberals or progressives.

Charters, Vouchers, and Public Education
edited by Paul E. Peterson and David E. Campbell
Brookings, 320 pp., $42.95

Revolution at the Margins
The Impact of Competition on Urban School Systems
by Frederick M. Hess
Brookings, 268 pp., $18.95

Rhetoric versus Reality
What We Know and What We Need to Know About Vouchers and Charter Schools
by Brian P. Gill, P. Michael Timpane, Karen E. Ross, and Dominic J. Brewer
RAND, 120 pp., $15

Schools, Vouchers, and the American Public
by Terry M. Moe
Brookings, 350 pp., $29.95

Of course, in one respect, the positions do line up as one would expect. The school-choicers press for market-based reforms, in the spirit of much conservative public policy, while the anti-choicers put their faith in the state, following in the footsteps of much progressive public policy. Some of the debate reflects disagreement about the facts: What is the most effective means to better education in America? But the debate also reflects disagreement about the ends of education in a free society. And sorting out these issues requires both an examination of current research and a reconsideration of fundamental tendencies within the classical liberal tradition.

A central role in the school-choice debate is being played by Washington's venerable Brookings Institution, the moderate—or slightly left-leaning—think tank that is a pillar of Washing-

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ton's idea industry. For the better part of a decade, a loose-knit group of scholars have been studying school choice. (Their unofficial leader seems to be Paul Peterson, a professor at Harvard's Kennedy School of Government and a fellow at Stanford's Hoover Institution.)

According to several studies Brookings has recently published, the evidence is mounting that expansion of choice through charters and vouchers improves, and certainly does not diminish, academic achievement. These findings, which are either bolstered or uncontradicted by other serious studies, such as the RAND education report *Rhetoric versus Reality*, seem to strike hard at the anti-choice position.

Nonetheless, progressive critics see school choice as a threat to democracy. They charge, for instance, that such programs appeal to white elites who wish to separate their children from blacks and to religious parents who wish to separate their children from the secular world. They insist that vouchers and charters deprive students who take advantage of them of diversity in the classroom. They assert that such innovations weaken public schools by draining away state money and creaming off the best students. And they declare that schools out of the government's hands generally subvert the nation's shared civic culture by teaching a narrow, intolerant, sectarian creed.

The Brookings books, however, tell a different story. Using the latest social science methods, Terry Moe shows in *Schools, Vouchers, and the American Public* that the critics' fears about the wealthy and the religious taking advantage of school choice are baseless. In fact, Moe concludes, the appeal of such programs is strongest among low-income parents in districts with poorly performing schools—and the primary reason such parents desire choice is not diversity or religion but the opportunity to place their children in schools that will provide a better basic education.

So far as diversity in the classroom is concerned, Chester E. Finn Jr., Bruno V. Manno, and Gregg Vanourek report in *Charters, Vouchers, and Public Education* that charter schools actually do a *better* job of providing students with a diverse classroom than do regular public schools:

> In the aggregate, charter schools are populated by a more diverse population of American schoolchildren than regular public schools (though these demographics vary by state and district). Over half (51.8 percent) of charter pupils belong to minority groups (compared with 41 percent in conventional schools). Nearly two fifths (38.7 percent) come from low-income families, slightly above the poverty rate among regular public school pupils (37.3 percent). About one-tenth (9.9 percent) have limited English proficiency (compared with 9.8 percent in regular public schools), and 8.4 percent are special education students (compared with 11.3 percent in regular public schools).

Bettmann / CORBIS

Perhaps one reason for these encouraging numbers is that attendance at charter schools is based on choice and is open to students from diverse neighborhoods and school districts, while attendance at public schools is generally based upon residence in particular school districts, which tend to be ethnically homogeneous.

Moreover, the facts should ease fears that school choice will drain funds from public schools. Consider, for example, the case of the Cleveland voucher program (whose constitutionality will be decided in the coming weeks by the U.S. Supreme Court). In Cleveland, the inner-city public schools receive from the state and local authorities approximately $7,000 per student residing in their district. Cleveland parents were offered a choice: continue to send your child to the city's public schools or receive a cash voucher worth $2,500 for use at the private school of your choice. The children whose parents chose the voucher program actually *boosted* spending per student in Cleveland public schools—because public schools were still receiving $7,000 for each child residing in the district, even though the voucher students had opted out.

To what extent charter schools and voucher programs cream off the best students is more difficult to measure. It may be true that the best public school students with the most engaged parents disproportionately take advantage of choice programs. But it is hard to understand how this constitutes a serious objection. The truth is that creaming already occurs when high-income parents take their talented children out of public schools and pay five-figure tuition fees to send them to elite private schools. It also occurs when concerned parents who have the resources and education and inclination decide to home-school their children. To block states from giving low-income parents the opportunity to take their children out of broken-down public schools and send them to effective private schools, whether religious or secular, is to compel low-income families alone to make a sacrifice for a questionable conception of the public good.

Some proponents of choice have argued that far from weakening public schools, school-choice programs may actually improve public schools by creating competition for students. Based on his studies in Milwaukee, Cleveland, and San Antonio, Frederick M. Hess concludes in *Revolution at the Margins* that competition has produced only "modest and subtle" changes in teaching and learning in the public schools. Yet even this small result, Hess suggests, points in a school-choice direction. Given the small number of students involved in voucher programs to date, one would not expect competition to produce big changes in the public

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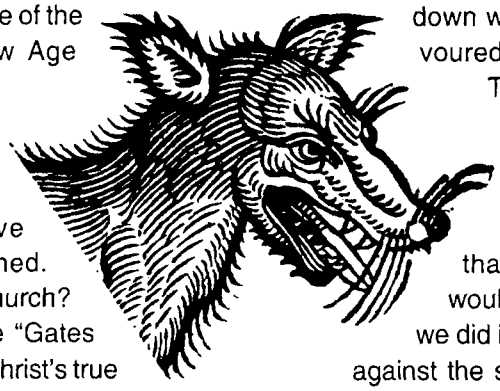
The Wolf Inside The Catholic Church

If Catholics want to see what the Catholic Church would look like if liberal Catholics get their way, all they need do is look at the Episcopal Church, which incarnates the wish list of liberal Catholics: approval of shacking-up, abortion, and homosexual unions; priestesses and out-of-the-closet homosexual priests; junking the doctrine of the Indissolubility of Marriage; New Age (neo-pagan) rituals; etc.



If in, say, 1970 you asked if all of this could happen in the staid Episcopal Church, almost every Episcopalian would have said, "Never!" Alas, it's happened. Could it happen in the Catholic Church? We Catholics have faith that the "Gates of Hell" will never prevail against Christ's true Church, but they could prevail in, say, the U.S. and Europe, just as they prevailed in North Africa.

Sadly, the same type of liberal Christians who run the Episcopal Church can be found in the Catholic Church in the U.S. The "middle management" of the U.S. Church is riddled with dissenters.

How should loyal Catholics relate to such people? Should we seek common ground with them? Dialogue with them? In the Episcopal Church over the past decades there were many fine Christians who took this falsely charitable approach. They said, let's talk with these earnest, if somewhat loosey-goosey Episcopalians. And, you know, pretty soon those fine, kind-hearted Christians weakened under the pressure of the *Zeitgeist*. And then they were devoured.

There's a huge lesson for Catholics to learn here: You just can't pow-wow with liberal Catholics, because they come to any negotiating table from a position of massive strength. They don't just represent themselves. They're of the same ilk that overran the Episcopal Church and numerous other Protestant denominations. And they have the full force of secular Western culture — the *Zeitgeist* — behind them. In this world, when the lambs lie down with the wolves, the lambs are devoured.

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schools. And yet Hess finds that creating choice for parents and their children has attracted the notice of teachers and administrators at public schools and opened up opportunities for reformers within the public-school system to introduce or gain a hearing for new programs. Similarly, Jay P. Greene reports in a paper published in *Charters, Vouchers, and Public Education* that in states where parents have more choices, the statewide average attained on test scores for all students combined is higher.

Perhaps the most intriguing findings obtained by any study concern the cultivation of political tolerance. The figures come from Greene's research, carried out along with colleagues Patrick J. Wolf, Brett Kleitz, and Kristina Thalhammer and also published in *Charters, Vouchers, and Public Education*. Critics—especially academic political theorists—worry that private schools, especially private religious schools, fail to teach the values and principles crucial to sustaining a pluralistic democracy. Such critics point to a long tradition, stretching back to Thomas Jefferson, that has seen public schools in the United States as the key place for preparing the nation's youth for the challenges and opportunities of democratic citizenship.

But the critics' premises are open to question. What if the public schools—particularly the ones that serve low-income, inner-city families—no longer effectively educate students in the basics, let alone for the challenges and opportunities of democratic citizenship? And why, for that matter, can't private education teach the civic virtues that make democracy work?

This is what Greene, Wolf, Kleitz, and Thalhammer set out to test. And they found that private schools appear to teach political tolerance more effectively than do public schools. In surveys administered to 1,212 students enrolled in required introductory courses in American government at four Texas universities, the students were asked questions revolving around their willingness to tolerate "extremist political groups." The researchers found that the greater the students' exposure to private education, the more likely they were to be politically tolerant, and this was true whether students had attended private secular schools or religious schools.

While acutely aware of the limitations of survey research and the preliminary character of their findings, Greene and colleagues offer several explanations that make sense of their initially surprising results. Because many wealthier families have moved to the suburbs, low-income students end up in socially and racially uniform public classrooms where they lack contact with individuals from backgrounds different from their own.

By contrast, private schools, which attract students from a variety of neighborhoods, can achieve greater diversity. In addition, private schools, which often emphasize moral values and character formation, have a freer hand in teaching democratic values than do public schools, the content of whose curriculum is restricted by bureaucratic red tape and legal limitations.

Finally, by promoting the free exchange of ideas among students and between students and teachers, and by involving students in decisions about school governance, private education can give students greater practice in the art of civic life.

All of this seems to show that market-based remedies to the crisis of our public schools are on the side of progress, while insistence that the state is the primary solution to the ills that afflict our schools seems to reflect a misguided attachment to order and the old ways of doing things.

So why is it so hard for so many who see themselves as progressives to admit this? Why is the left wing of the Democratic party so hostile to school choice? The political root no doubt can be traced to the Democratic party's unseemly dependence upon the teachers' unions (in particular their lobbyists at the state and local level), which have never seen an educational reform they liked (except increased state spending and greater benefits for teachers).

But the intellectual root of the progressive hostility to school choice goes deeper, and it can be traced to a homogenizing tendency that arises within the liberal tradition. This is the tradition whose fundamental moral premise is the natural freedom and equality of all, and it runs all the way back to Locke, encompassing Montesquieu, Madison, Mill, and many others. It underlies our constitutional order, and it links right and left in our politics today.

Homogenizing liberalism wants all individuals to be autonomous free agents who have transcended narrow communal and religious attachments and who are bound together by their shared capacity for reason and choice. The achievement of this kind of autonomy, contends the homogenizing liberal, is not merely a good but perhaps the highest good: both a benefit and duty of citizenship in a liberal state. In order to ensure that each individual lives up to the demands of citizenship so understood, it is necessary, homogenizing liberals conclude, to rely upon the state, which alone has the resources and reach to rescue children from negligent or sectarian parents and instill, through public education, autonomy.

In pursuing this ambitious educational program, however, homogenizing liberalism betrays an illiberal impulse and threatens the freedom and dignity of the individual. Even as thoughtful a political theorist and as committed a liberal as Princeton's Stephen Macedo wants—in the name of autonomy—our public schools to form individuals in a single mold. "We have every reason," he writes, "to take seriously the political project of educating future citizens with an eye to their responsibilities as critical interpreters of our shared political traditions—that is, as participants in a democratic project of reason giving and reason demanding."

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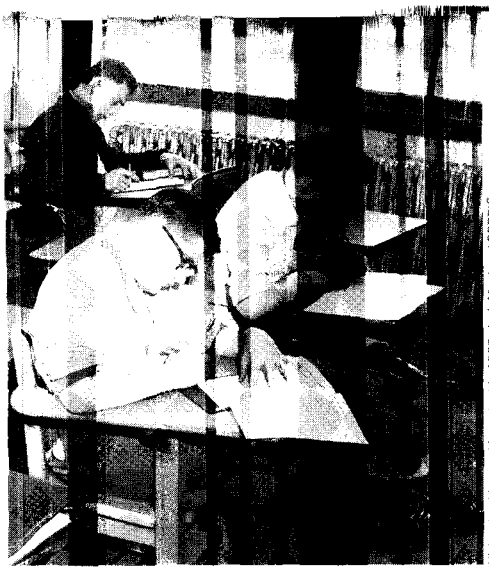

High school boys taking a test in 1955. Jack Moebes / CORBIS.

Actually, we have many good reasons to reject such a state-organized and state-administered project. Having the government take responsibility for educating all students in Macedo's mold would be fine if it were among a liberal state's legitimate aims to raise up a nation of political theorists. (Perhaps not coincidentally, the views of professional political theorists such as Macedo would also have the effect of transforming those who have made political theory their profession into the supreme citizens.) But constitutional democracy provides more than a single way of being a good citizen and a good human being. Of course, our public life depends upon a common culture, shared moral principles, and basic civil knowledge. And literacy, toleration, and respect for the rule of law are essentials that should be encouraged by the state. But there is no reason to suppose that these can be attained only through public education.

Indeed, in light of what we now know about school choice, the idea is indefensible. When we hear expressed the fear that private schools (particularly private religious schools) fail to promote autonomy as the highest good, we must ask how the liberal state's interest extends to mandating the highest goods that students and their parents must hold dear. Those who care for themselves and their friends and their family, who obey the law, and prefer stamp-collecting or fly-fishing or attending church services to spending their evenings and free weekends engaged "as critical interpreters of our shared political traditions" also deserve our respect. Indeed, our country is large and capacious and tolerant enough to recognize as good citizens and good human beings those who not only fail to place critical interpretation of our shared political traditions at the core of their lives, but who believe that there are spheres of life in which the ideal of autonomy has a subordinate role.

We need to resist the homogenizing liberalism that seeks to compress all citizens in a single mold. And we have good grounds, rooted in the liberal tradition, for doing so. For coexisting in the liberal tradition alongside the ambition to homogenize is an aspiration to respect individuals by blending, in politics as well as in the individual soul, the variety of human goods. And on reflection this blending liberalism provides a better guide to liberalism's core devotion to the liberty of all.

A confusing feature of the history of our ideas, however, is that John Stuart Mill is the outstanding representative of both these kinds of liberalism. His *On Liberty* famously evokes the hero of liberalism: the autonomous, freely choosing, self-sufficient individual, under no authority save his own reason. But in the name of that autonomy, homogenizing liberalism has for some time now been eager to wield the authority of the state to regulate private affairs—in order to liberate individuals from the ways of life it deems hidebound, cramped, or fettered (which is to say religion and tradition and hierarchy). This form of liberalism is partial to thought and discussion that presupposes the good of autonomy, and it seeks to impose the exalted ideal of individuality through state regulation of public education.

But the same Mill also teaches that the claims of individual liberty must be heard fairly and harmonized with those of society and custom and tradition, both for the good of the individual and for the good of society. He writes, "Unless opinions favorable to democracy and to aristocracy, to property and to equality, to cooperation and to competition, to luxury and to abstinence, to sociality and individuality, to liberty and discipline, and all the other standing antagonisms of practical life, are expressed with equal freedom, and enforced and defended with equal talent and energy, there is no chance of both elements obtaining their due."

Moreover, in *Considerations on Representative Government*, Mill insists that modern constitutional democracy requires both a party of order and a party of progress, a conservative party and a progressive party, because each party focuses on an essential interest of the state and each by itself neglects the essential state interest to which the other is devoted. And in essay length tributes, Mill passionately argues that any free country would benefit enormously, as did England, from both the contributions of a thinker such as Jeremy Bentham (who determinedly, if one-sidedly, showed the dependence of progressive political reform on the power of the cold, calculating intellect) and of a thinker such as Samuel Taylor Coleridge (who tenaciously and tendentiously taught the wisdom of the heart and the reason of tradition). In so arguing, of course, Mill also displayed the utility of that blending liberalism that seeks to preserve and reconcile opposing moral and political positions and competing human goods.

Viewed in the light of this blending liberalism, progressives and conservatives alike should welcome further experiments in school choice. Such experiments certainly do not pose a discernible threat to public school education in America. Nearly 90 percent of American children continue to be educated at conventional public schools, and the proportions are unlikely to change significantly anytime soon. Indeed, part of the experiment in school choice should involve new forms of public schools, prominent among which are the charter schools that have already opened their doors. Meanwhile, for those in greatest need—children of low-income parents who seek an alternative to chronically decrepit inner-city public school education—the preliminary results strongly indicate that choice programs do no harm and appear to do some good.

This finding alone gives good reason for the party of order and the party of progress to work together to give school choice a chance. ♦

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More than 170 collegiate men's wrestling programs, 80 men's tennis programs, 70 men's gymnastics teams, and 45 men's track teams have been eliminated because of the Title IX law.
—*GAO Report, cited in* New York Times, *May 9*

More Women's Stores Close As Malls Level the Playing Field

By BILL PENNINGTON

Stephanie Wong is closing up The Body Shop store at the King of Prussia mall in Pennsylvania. She's putting away the Seaweed Purifying Toner, the Sisal Body Scrubber, the Hemp Shampoo, and the Olive Oil Eyelid Moisturizer. But tonight is different. Tonight, this Body Shop outlet is closing for good, one of 2,300 Body Shop stores that have closed since last year's changes in Title IX.

Last spring, the U.S. Supreme Court ruled that shopping is a sport, and to comply with the Title IX program all shopping malls must guarantee equal male and female shopping participation rates. Since the ruling, 4,175 Limiteds have closed, along with 3,321 Coach stores, 998 Casual Corners, and even 1,456 Talbots, the clothing store that specializes in apparel for Protestant women.

Other stores have desperately tried to increase their male patronage. Illuminations, the scented candle store, has introduced pepperoni, armpit, and beef jerky scented lines. Sephora has created the Randy Johnson musk oil for men. Lane Bryant has had limited success so far with chartreuse pickup truck lines. And Victoria's Secret has increased its selection of size 56 see-through Barbie Doll teddies after the court ruled that transvestites count as men in Title IX tabulations. The lingerie chain, which was recently acquired by ESPN, will soon be changing its name to Dan Patrick's Secret.

Some product lines have managed to thrive in the new environment, notably the Hooters line of home furnishings, featuring breast-shaped throw pillows. Pottery Barn features a complete selection of Astroturf-covered living room furniture, and Crate and Barrel has gone back to selling crates and barrels.

Perhaps no store has had to alter its approach as much as Benetton, the casual clothing store. Benetton has completely changed its brand personality, so that now it runs advertisements supporting the oppression of the weak and downtrodden.

Still, male rights groups are unsatisfied with the progress that has been

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Supporting the Drug War Supports Terrorists

David R. Henderson is a research fellow at the Hoover Institution and an economics professor at the Naval Postgraduate School in Monterey, California.

In recent months, the United States government spent $10 million of our tax dollars for its latest antidrug campaign. Its new pitch: if you buy illegal drugs, you're supporting terrorists because terrorists are intimately involved in the production, sale, and distribution of drugs. Guess what? I agree. People who buy illegal drugs do support terrorists. But here's what the government leaves out: **by making drugs illegal, the government is supporting terrorists even more.**

Have you ever wondered why terrorist groups get involved in the illegal drug market and not, for example, in the legal market for Coca-Cola, soap, or envelopes? The inaccurate answer that many people give is that the profits in dealing drugs are incredibly high, which attracts criminals. But profits are not incredibly high, once you adjust for risk: people in that trade have a nasty tendency to die or go to prison, and they insist on being compensated for that risk. Besides, if high profits were what attracted criminals, why don't those same high profits attract normal investors?

No. The reason terrorists get involved in illegal drugs is that they are criminals; once a market is made illegal, the high risk-adjusted prices of the illegal good reward those with "criminal skills." One such skill is the ability and willingness to murder people. That's why organized crime took over the liquor industry during prohibition—and quickly exited when prohibition ended.

Moreover, the United States government is effectively supporting left-wing terrorists in Colombia. How so? Say you're a Colombian coca producer trying to make a peso. Working against you are Colombia's military and police, pressured by U.S. government subsidies and threats and aided by U.S. military personnel and equipment. The first thing you want is protection, and the place to go for protection is to antigovernment people with guns who know how to fight. Two such groups are the Revolutionary Armed Forces of Colombia (FARC) and the National Liberation Army (ELN), both revolutionary leftists. You don't have to be a left-wing ideologue yourself to decide to pay them protection money, which is just what many coca farmers and cocaine producers do.

By one estimate, the revenue to FARC from drug-related sources is more than $600 million a year, which would make it the best-funded terrorist group in the world. Thus, **the war against drugs actually strengthens the position of the leftist insurgents.**

These insurgents have terrorized Colombian society. Between 1981 and 1986, for example, drug traffickers murdered more than fifty Colombian judges, including twelve supreme court justices. Colombian citizens are also terrorized: more than one million of them emigrated in the past five years. If a similar percent of Americans did the same, we would lose fourteen million citizens—almost half California's population.

A more informative ad line from the U.S. government would be: "When you support the drug war, you're supporting terrorists."

— David R. Henderson

Paid for by the Hoover Institution, Stanford University

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WHOSE PROBLEM IS IT IF INSURANCE COMPANIES WON'T OFFER TERRORISM COVERAGE?

MINE.

More than ever, Americans are looking to our leaders to help secure our way of life. Yet in every state, an ever-growing number of public and private facilities are unprotected and uninsured against terrorism.

With insurance companies unwilling to offer comprehensive and affordable terrorism coverage, all Americans are vulnerable. Businesses, facilities, even the roads and bridges that connect us are left uncovered against catastrophic loss. And without the security that insurance provides, the places where Americans meet, shop and work will face needless risk.

The lack of terrorism insurance is a threat to our economic security, and we urge the Senate to finish the work that the President and the House of Representatives have done to make sure that our country's citizens have access to affordable, comprehensive terrorism insurance. It will be a crucial step that will ensure our country stays secure, protected and strong.

Office Buildings
Shopping Centers
Concert Halls
Airports & Stadiums
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Community Center
Theme Parks
Hotels
Places of Worship
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